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Proceedings at Baltimore, October 29th and 30th, 1884.

THE Society was called to order in Hopkins Hall of the Johns Hopkins University, at half past three o'clock on Wednesday, October 29th, by the President, Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale College.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Professor Toy, it was moved that the Corresponding Secretary, Professor Lanman, serve in his stead for the time being; and this was voted.

The minutes of the May meeting were read, and, after some slight corrections, approved. The Committee of Arrangements announced through President Gilman that the session would be resumed on Thursday morning, and that the members of the Society were invited to meet on Wednesday evening at the house of Mr. A. L. Frothingham.

On the part of the Directors, it was announced that the next meeting would be held in Boston, on Wednesday, May 6th, 1885, unless the Committee of Arrangements (consisting of the Corresponding and Recording Secretaries) should see reason for changing the day.

On recommendation of the Directors, the following gentlemen were elected Corporate Members:

Mr. Cyrus Adler, of Philadelphia, Pa. ;
Mr. Samuel A. Binion, of Baltimore, Md. ;
Prof. James T. Hatfield, of Holly Springs, Miss. ;
Mr. John W. McCoy, of Baltimore, Md. ;
Mr. Geo. L. Shaw, of West Oakland, Cal. ;
Dr. Edw. H. Spieker, of Baltimore, Md. ;
Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia, Pa. ;
Prof. Henry Wood, of Baltimore, Md.

The correspondence of the half-year (most of it addressed to Professor Whitney) was presented to the Society, and extracts from it were read:

Rev. Henry Blodget transmits a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Peking Missionary Association on hearing of the death of Dr. S. W. Williams, and dated Peking, April 28, 1884.

Dr. N. G. Clark writes from Boston, June 12, 1884, that he has just received a note of inquiry from Rev. Mr. Logan, missionary of the American Board in Micronesia, with regard to the publication of an alphabetically arranged vocabulary of from 2500 to 3000 words of the Mortlock dialect, spoken on one of the southernmost groups of the Caroline Islands.

Rev. S. C. George, under date of Chambersburg, Pa., Oct. 17, 1884, says that his Siamese grammar is well advanced toward completion.

Rev. J. M. Jamieson, of Monmouth, Ill., for twenty-two years a missionary in India, wrote Oct. 6th, 1884, concerning the publication of a translation of the Hindī *Prem Sāgar* which he had completed in manuscript, and again on the 15th, saying that he had since then learned of the recent publication of an English version of the same work in India. It was suggested that the manuscript be deposited in the Society's library.

Miss Mary O. Pickering, of Salem, Mass., sent a letter, interesting as a memento, addressed to her father, the first president of the Society, by Professor R. Lepsius, of Berlin, recently deceased. It is dated at Philæ (the First Cataract of the Nile), Sept. 15, 1844. Dr. Lepsius thanks the Society for making him an honorary member, and gives an account of the results of his journeys and ethnographical studies in Nubia.

Mr. W. W. Rockhill, under date of New York, July 18, 1884, announced his intention of departing that day for Peking, where he hoped to be by the middle of September. He offered to present to the Society a report on the condition of Oriental studies in North China.

Mr. A. W. Thayer writes from Trieste that Captain Richard F. Burton proposes to issue at private subscription a complete translation of the Arabian Nights for the use of scholars. As the work is unexpurgated, the translator is unwilling to have it brought out by a publisher, and he pledges himself to limit the edition strictly. It will appear in ten volumes at a guinea a volume, each to be paid for on delivery. Subscriptions should be addressed to Captain R. F. Burton, Trieste, Austria.

Rev. Mark Williams, missionary of the American Board at Kalgan, North China, sends a description of very ancient mounds in his district, some in clusters on the plain (burial mounds?), and others singly on eminences (signal-towers?). Kalgan is about 120 miles northwest of Peking, and on the line of the Great (outer) Wall.

The following communications were presented to the Society, numbers 4, 5, and 6 being given during the evening meeting at the house of Mr. Frothingham :

1. The Origin of the Chinese and Korean writing, by Dr. D. B. McCartee, formerly of China and recently of Japan, now of New York City.

A chart was exhibited, showing :

1. The *Pah-kwa*, or 'Eight Diagrams,' ascribed to Fuh-hi, the legendary founder of the Chinese polity. The *Pah-kwa* were at first slips of wood arranged in various combinations, and took the place of the knotted cords previously used. The slips were supplanted by straight lines cut on surfaces of bamboo. These methods of making records were so rude and imperfect that even in the time of Confucius (the sixth century B. C.) oral tradition and memory were necessary complements for the understanding of such records. From these beginnings was developed the written character.

The hair pencil was introduced in the reign of Shi-hwang of the Ts'in dynasty (B. C. 220-206), and had an important influence in helping the formation of a more convenient system of writing, and in developing (circa 350 A. D.) the elegant cursive characters now used. The rude *Pah-kwa* are however still found in the *Yih-king* ('Book of Changes'), in books of geomancy and divination, and on

amulets. Four diagrams of the *Pah-kwa* are emblazoned on the Korean national flag.

2 and 3. The Chinese numeral symbols and the Korean imitations of them. These symbols are the written representatives of the original wooden reckoning slips. These slips are still used by the Koreans and are called by them *Ka-chi san*, a term which the Catholic missionaries rendered by *bâtonnets à calcul*.

4. The Korean alphabet or *én-mun*. This is a true alphabet, each letter representing a single sound and each sound being always represented by the same letter. The characters are composed of the simplest elements: the square, its upper right-hand angle, the lower left-hand angle, a rectangle with the right side gone, a rectangle with the sides prolonged upward, the triangle, circle, and straight line. The letters are even classified according to the organs of speech concerned in their production. This classification is shown in the similarity of the forms of certain letters; thus, the aspirates *kh*, *th*, and *ph* are made by adding a line to the signs for *k*, *t*, and *p*.

It is evident from the ancient form of the characters that they were first made by some unyielding implement. The introduction of the hair pencil has given them a more cursive form and a general similarity to the Chinese. That the characters are of real Japanese origin, as some maintain, is highly improbable. The Japanese Katakana and Hiragana show no evidence that their inventors had any idea of a true alphabet; whereas, the Korean is a true alphabet, although its elements have been combined into a conventionalized but easily analyzable syllabary.

2. On a Cursive Manuscript of the Greek Gospels, by Prof. Isaac H. Hall, of New York City.

This manuscript is in the hands of some person in or near Constantinople, known to Prof. Albert L. Long, of Robert College. Prof. Long wrote about it to Rev. Dr. Bliss of the Bible House at Constantinople, enclosing photographs of four pages; and Dr. Bliss transmitted them to Rev. Dr. Edward W. Gilman, Corresponding Secretary of the American Bible Society, who handed them to me for inspection.

Prof. Long's letter says: "The whole MS. consists of 206 leaves of stout vellum, stitched in 8vo. The order of the Gospels is Matthew, *Luke*, *Mark*, John.

"The cover is wanting. There are no mutilations, so far as I can discover, but there are stains of candle-grease, mud, etc., upon many of the pages, and occasional scrawls and rude drawings, as though it had fallen into the hands of a school-boy. There is appended a list of the Scripture lessons to be read throughout the year, but I have found no subscription from which any *date* could be made out."

Then follow some remarks unnecessary to be quoted, among which is a guess that the MS. is not later than the tenth century.

The photographs are poor, but they show an interesting and valuable manuscript. The date is uncertain, but must lie somewhere between the latter part of the eleventh century and the middle of the thirteenth. It cannot possibly be of the tenth century.

The order of books stated above by Prof. Long is rare, if not unique; but it is probably not the original one of the MS.; for the photograph shows an Arabic numeral at the top of the folio on three of the pages, which must have been a folio number. The character of these numerals is a rather old native Arabic script. The page from Matthew has the number 2, that from John 22, and that from Luke 133. So the original order of books in the MS. was probably: Matthew, John, Mark, Luke; which is not unprecedented.

The writing is a fair cursive of moderate sized letters, with a moderate amount of ligatures, and the regular New Testament *compendiu scribendi*. It has uncial initials projecting into the margin to mark the beginning of a paragraph; but this uncial initial would seem to be applied to the first word in the paragraph that begins a line, as with Δε in Luke viii. 37. There is no *iota* subscript.

The contents of the photographs are as follows:

Two leaves from Matthew, v. 42 (δίδον καὶ τὸν θέλοντα . . .) to vi. 13 (end of verse); one leaf from Luke, viii. 31 (τὴν ἄβυσσον . . .) to 39 (. . . ἐποίησεν ὁ υἱς); one leaf from John, xvii. 5 (εἶναι παρὰ σοῦ· ἐφανερώσω σου . . .) to 17

(. . . ἁγίασον αὐτοὺς). The pages from Matthew are reduced in size: the others are said to be of the actual size of the manuscript pages.

The pages from Matthew show the Ammonian sections and the Eusebian canons noted in the margin, as follows: at v. 43, *μά ι* (41, 10); at v. 48, *μβ' ι* (42, 10); at vi. 7, *μγ' ι* (43, 10); the letter at the top, in each case, being not clear in the photograph, and hence not represented here. At the end of chapter v., and also at the end of vi. 13, is the abbreviation for *τέλος*, to mark the end of the church lesson. At the beginning of chapter vi. is the title of the church

lesson: *σα τῆς τυροφαγίας* (I am not sure about the last character, but the γ is above the line) *ματ*^θ: *i. e. σάββατον τῆς Τυροφάγων [ἐβδομάδος] Μαρθαίου*, or "Saturday of the cheese-eating week; [Lesson] from Matthew." (Cheese-eating week was the week before Lent, or Quinquagesima week.) This title is one appropriate to a lectionary, and out of place in a MS. of the Gospel (with the lessons noted).

The addition of *ματ*^θ seems to show that the MS. was copied with the help of a Lectionary, if not made up from one. Another indication of the same sort will appear presently.

The text is pretty closely Stephanic; with, however, some important exceptions, as follows:

Matt. v. 47, *φίλους προ ἀδελφούς* (I give the accents as in the text, not as modified by quotation here).

Matt. vi. 1, *praemittitur ad initium* *Εἰπεν ὁ κς τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς* (another mark of lectionary make-up).

Luke viii. 34, *ομιλ. ἀπελθόντες ante ἀπήγγειλαν*.

John xvii. 11, 12, *ς* (I supply a subscript) *προ οὓς bis*.

John xvii. 16, *καθὼς ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ εἰμί προ καθὼς ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμί ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου*.

There seem to have been two scribes employed upon the MS. At least, the difference in handwriting between Luke and John is enough to warrant the supposition.

The manuscript would seem, from the above specimens, to be a good and valuable one; but it would be premature to attempt to state its affinities until we have more of it to judge from. The above readings are well known, and, except perhaps the last, occur in noteworthy MSS.

3. On the Hieroglyphic Evidence that Lake Mæris extended to the west of Behnesa, by Mr. F. C. Whitehouse, of New York City.

All the texts of Claudius Ptolemy's Geography (at book iv. § 20) place *ἡ Μοίριδος λίμνη* at 60° 20', 29° 20'. In § 34 and the following they locate the towns *περὶ τῇν Μοίριδος λίμνην* as follows: *Βακχίς*, 60° 30', 29° 40'; *Διονυσιάς*, 60° 30', 29°. When Ptolemy gives a single position for a mountain or lake, he always means the centre, and *τὸ μέσον* is sometimes added. According to the calculation of M. Jomard (confirmed by Dr. Karl Müller, Göttingen, 26th June, 1883), the middle of *Μοίριδος λίμνη* is at Qasr Qerūn. The word *λίμνη* includes the entire district, as a technical term, equivalent to ta-She or Hun-t, the Phiom or El-Fayoum. Dr. Müller therefore said that this strengthens the view that Lake Mæris extended not less than twenty miles to the south of the southern extremity of the present Birket el-Qerūn.

Diodorus said, *τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσιν ὀργυῶν πεντήκοντα*, which seems to imply more than one *μέρος* or basin. This is also in harmony with the Arab traditions given by Murtadi and others, and especially by Abulfeda. "The water was drained into a south-western basin by Joseph." A tradition may state a fact founded upon subsequent observation and not history. Many Arab traditions seem to have arisen in this way. The Wadi Reian is unquestionably from 200 to 300 feet below High Nile at El-Lahun. It is dry except at a single spot, which appears to be Dionysias, where there are a few acres of palm-trees but no inhabitants. This basin if filled with water would form the southern basin of a double lake and extend south of 29°.

In the Dict. Géog. of Brugsch Bey, under MR, p. 1187, occur the following sentences: "Malgré la certitude, garantie par la suite et l'ordre des noms de leurs

métropoles, que ce nom [SAP-MOR] renferme l'antique appellation du chef-lieu du 19me nome de la Haute-Egypte, l'Oxyrhynchites des géographes, il y a encore quelques doutes à dissiper," because "le MAR dans ce côté de l'Égypte serait donc un autre lac Maréotis dont la tradition classique n'a pas conservé les moindres traces de souvenir." Dr. Brugsch adopted the Moëris of M. Linant, endorsed by Dr. Lepsius, accepted by Buensen (Eng. ed.), and so interprets all references to the papyrus 1 and 2 of Bülaq, and the third fragment or "Papyrus of the Labyrinth."

This opinion has been questioned by M. l'Abbé Amelineau and Dr. Pleijte, on the supposition that my surveys (1882 and 1883) show that Lake Moëris filled the western part of the Fayoum and the Wadis to the south. This *mu âmentî nt mar* (l'eau occidentale du pays du lac) and *mu n't mar âmentî* (l'eau du pays du lac de l'ouest) is therefore the southern part of Moëris, fed by the canal *Temî* (ib. p. 1189).

4. The Tibetan "Hundred Thousand Songs" of Milaraspā, a Buddhist Missionary of the Eleventh Century, by W. W. Rockhill, now of the United States Legation in Peking, China.

Buddhism was introduced into Tibet in the seventh century. In the latter half of the ninth, it was brought to a high degree of power and influence by the good king Ralpachan. He was succeeded at the beginning of the tenth by the last and perhaps the worst of Tibetan monarchs, Glang Darma. This king, along with the followers of the Bon-po religion, did all in his power to destroy Buddhist temples, monasteries, and books, and to persecute Buddhists. After a reign of three years, he was assassinated about 915 A. D.

About a hundred years later came a revival of Buddhism. In 1042 Lord Atisha, or Jo-vo rje, as he is generally named, came from India to Tibet, and, with other missionaries, had to begin the work of conversion on what was practically a virgin soil.

Before Glang Darma's persecution, the Tibetans had followed the Mādhyamika doctrines of the Mahāyāna school; but those which Atisha brought from Bengal were of an entirely different character, and belonged to the Tantrik school. Through them Tibetan Buddhism, or Lamaism, as it is commonly but inaccurately called, acquired the greater part of its peculiar features.

Atisha had many disciples in Tibet. The most celebrated was Bu-ston, author of the *Tchos-hbyung rin-tchen*. Marpa is the name of another Buddhist missionary of these times, perhaps a disciple of Atisha. Judging by his name, he was a Tibetan by birth; but of his works and life we know nothing save a few scattered phrases in the books written by his disciple, Milaraspā, the subject of this notice.

The exact date of Milaraspā's birth seems to be uncertain. The Vaidurya Karpo, a mathematical work cited by Csoma de Kőrös in his Tibetan Grammar, p. 184, says that he was born 1038 A. D. Sarat Chandra Dās has a valuable article, entitled "Contributions on Tibet," in vol. 50 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (part i., pages 187-251). On p. 238, Das places Milaraspā in the fourteenth century; but this seems to be a misprint, for on pages 206-211 he gives what is undoubtedly a translation from one of Milaraspā's works which he calls a "block-print said to be 800 years old," which agrees with Csoma's authority. Mr. Jaeschke, in his Tibetan Dictionary, p. 413, s.v. *Mi*, says: "*Mi-la-rās-pa*, often only *Mi-la*, name of a Buddhist ascetic of the eleventh century (*Vaidurya Karpo*), who between the periods of his meditations itinerating in the southern part of Middle Tibet as a mendicant friar, instructed the people by his improvisations delivered in poetry and song, brought the indifferent to his faith, refuted and converted the heretics, wrought manifold miracles, and whose legends, written not without wit and poetical merit, are still at the present day the most popular and widely circulated book in Tibet."

Two books are attributed to Milaraspā: "The hundred thousand distinct songs of the life of the reverend lord Milaraspā," in Tibetan, *Rje-btsun Mi-la-ras-pai rnam-thar rgyas-par phye-sa ngur-hbum*; and "The biography of the reverend lord Milaraspā, the blessed lord of yoga," in Tibetan, *Rnal-hbyor-gyi dbang-phrug dam-pa rje-btsun Mi-la-ras-pai rnam-thar*. A copy of the former, obtained through the kindness of Mr. Wherry of Ludiana, is presented by Mr. Rockhill to the Society. The latter (the *rnam-thar* or biography) is in the Library of the St. Petersburg Academy, no. 436c. See Schiefner, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, i. 4. 413.

Whether Milaraspa is the author of these works or not does not readily appear from any examination of the only one to which I have had access, the *Mgur-hbum*. One might think this the work of his disciples. Jaeschke calls the *Rnam-thur* an autobiography, and it is probable that this represents the received opinion among Tibetans.

In the copy of the *Mgur-hbum* now given to the Society there are sixty chapters occupying 245 folios, partly printed, partly manuscript. The copy is very incorrect, and it is greatly to be desired that another should be obtained, to serve as the basis of a more critical examination. It would well repay careful study, as it is written in a language which differs immensely from that which we find in classical works.

The versification is very different from that usually found in the works of the *Bkah-hgyur* or *Bstan-hgyur* where all the *pādas* of a *śloka* contain the same number of syllables. Here we find such arrangements as the following: first line, 7 syllables; second, 8; third, 7; fourth, 8; first, 8; second, 7; third and fourth, 8; fifth, 7; sixth, 8; etc.

It is impossible to examine in detail the doctrines professed by Milaraspa. Chief among his precepts are the recommendations of the practice of *yoga* or meditation, and of prayer:

Free from the world, lift up your heads to laws divine
And do as I, a yogin, am wont to do.—Folio 16a.
Rejoice in the words spoken by the mighty teacher,
And often, often test the mighty weight of prayer.—Fol. 16b.

A few extracts will illustrate his mode of teaching and the points on which he lays the greatest stress.

Mgur-hbum. Chap. vi. Fol. 27–28.

Namo guru!

The reverend lord Milaraspa had come to Rkyang namkhah rdzong from Ragma, and one night, while stopping there, a monkey riding a hare appeared before him, bearing a mushroom shield and a straw for a lance. Laughing, the Master said: “You come to frighten me; away! I fear you not; put away all thought of harming me. My mind has embraced the body of the truth (*dharmakāya*); why flaunt your magic feats before me, for I, a yogin, scorn them!” On hearing these words, (the monkey) promised to obey him; so, vanishing as would a rainbow, it became (a human being called) Gro-thang rgyal-po.

Then this devout (lit. dispenser of gifts, *dānapati*) Gro-thang inquired of those who were round about the Master, what was so delightful in this place, and he (Milaraspa) replied in the following song:

Hear me, O Lama, my master!*
Inconceivable are the perfections of this place,
Ignored are the delights of this spot,
This lonely place, the Rkyang-phan namkhah rdzong,
This fastness here of Rkyang-phan namkhah rdzong.
O'er it spreads the purple southern cloud;
Below it flows the crystal stream;
Behind it the red rocks and heaven's expanse.
Green sward and flowers of every hue surround it.
Far from its confines the wild beast seeks its prey.
Around it soars the mighty eagle,
And on it fall the sweet, gentle showers from heaven.
On all sides the bee hums his song,
The little fawns run here and there in play,
The apes and monkeys gamboling jump about,
And loudly sings the lark when come forth its young.
The bird of gods, the white grouse whistles its sweet note.†
The brook babbles gayly o'er its clay slate bed;
The voice of time and unworthy friends‡

* His *blama* or *guru* was Marpa. He calls him sometimes “Lord of Lho-brag.”

† The words rendered ‘lark’ and ‘grouse’ are *lcho-ga* and *gong-mo*.

‡ The text appears to be incorrect, but I do not see how to correct it.

Trouble not the dream of this place's sweetness.—
I sing a song of joy,
I speak words of good advice.
All ye here, you, good sir, and people,
Follow after me, do as I have done,
Shun sinful deeds and do that which is good.

Loud were the acclamations from those present, when he had finished speaking, and they said: "Good, Lord! your words delight us. Teach us, we beseech you, some easily remembered verses by which we may acquire this habit of meditation."

So, to satisfy their wish, he sang the following song:

I crave the blessing of the Lama on my mind;
O bless me, that I may comprehend the void (of all things).
I will sing a song of the joys held out by (my) religion,
Which the believing man's devotion procures him.
The visible, the void, the inseparable, three are they;
These three are comprised in the rules of the doctrine.
The visible, the invisible, the immovable, three are they;
These three are comprised in the rules of meditation.
Absence of passion and greed, perseverance, three are they;
These three are comprised in the rules of behavior.
Absence of hope, of fear, of illusions, three are they;
These three are comprised in the rules of rewards.
Shamelessness, dissimulation, deceit, three are they;
These three are comprised in the rules of the void.

When he had thus spoken, the hearers were filled with faith, and abandoned their sinful ways. Some days later, their minds being uneasy (about the Master's health), these same persons came and inquired of the Master concerning his health, and paid him their respects.

He answered their inquiries about his health in the following song:

I bow at the feet of the blessed guru.
In solitary, secluded places, in woodland depths,
Milaraspa's meditative habits bring joy.
Happy is he, dwelling free from greed,
Happy, with body free from burning pain,
Happy is he, not given to the sluggard's ways;
Happy, deep in thought abstracted from all.
Happy is he, with that warmth* which knows no cold,
Happy, his penance performed with heart not faint.—
Happy is he, a husbandman seeking for naught,
Happy, with resting-place, solitary, undisturbed.
All these are the joys of the body (of a yogin).
Happy is he, carried along by both art and science,
Happy, having obtained *skyed-rjogs* and *zung-hjug*.†
Happy is he, conscious of exhaled and not coming breath,
Happy in silence free from gossiping friends.
All these are the joys of (his) speech.
Happy is he, free from selfish views,
Happy, deep in uninterrupted meditation.
Happy, the goal neither longed for nor feared;‡
All these are the joys of (his) mind.

* The more developed mysticism recognizes a "power which meditating saints by dint of long continued practice may acquire of holding back their breath for a great length of time, by which means the air is supposed to be drawn . . . into the principal artery, thus causing a feeling of uncommon warmth, comfort, and lightness inside, and finally even emancipating the body from the laws of gravity so as to lift it up and hold it freely suspended in the air." Jaeschke, Tib. Dict., p. 208, s.v. *gtum-po*.

† Two degrees of meditation, is Sanskrit *utsa-krama* and *sampanna-krama*. See Jaeschke, p. 30.

‡ Cf. Manu vi. 45.

Happy is he with enlightening, fixed, inscrutable,
 Happy all his life amid these mighty joys.
 Great the joy of mind bound by no fetters.—
 This is the burden of the song of his mighty joys.
 I sing the song of what I feel,
 It all is granted for practising the truth,
 It is the groundwork of enlightenment to come;
 Learn ye then to live this (life).

When he had thus spoken, the hearers learnt why the guru enjoyed such happiness, and great was their surprise. Having asked him whence it came, and having found it out, they said: "Why should not we also enjoy similar happiness? Teach us, we beseech you, some easily remembered verses by means of which we may acquire some small portion at least of this habit of deep meditation."

To satisfy their request, the reverend master spoke to these twelve persons the following song:

I bow at the feet of the blessed guru.
 Gentlemen, you who would know the mind,
 Learn to do as I will now relate.
 Faith, intelligence, steadfastness are three;
 These three are the mainstay (*srog-shing*) of the mind;
 He who living firmly keeps them, happy he.
 Make ye then this mainstay.
 Absence of passion, of selfishness, of stupidity are three;
 These three are the armor of the mind;
 He who wears this armor is proof 'gainst cut and thrust.
 Make ye then this armor for yourselves.
 Meditation, diligence, firmness are three;
 These three are the steed of the mind;
 Swiftly he runs towards freedom.
 Make ye then this charger for yourselves.
 Self-knowledge, self-consciousness, self-happiness, are three;
 These three are the fruit of the mind;
 If obtained, sweet is the taste of these fruits.
 Get then for yourselves these fruits.
 These are the twelve treasures of the mind,
 Which one reaches in the heart of yoga.
 Believing men, devote yourselves to them.

Thus did he speak, and they believed, and afterwards became distinguished members of the church.*

After this the Master made up his mind to go to Yol-mo gangs ra (ri?).

In the following song (folio 26b) Milaraspa contrasts quite poetically his own songs, which caution and save his hearers, with the signals of alarm of the birds and beasts which surround them.

Behind us a silken veil of white infolds the mount,
 Before it is the wish-granting forest's expanse.
 On meadows, green alps, amid wide groves,
 Among the sweet, perfumed white lilies,
 Is the loud buzzing of many insects.
 On the banks of the ponds and pools,
 The water-fowl watching turns its head,
 On the boughs of the wide spreading trees,
 Sing all the lovely songsters.
 Above, in the top branches of the trees,
 The apes and monkeys gamboling show their skill.
 On the meadow's emerald green,
 Pasture herds of many kinds,
 And to shield them from harm the herdsman

* Lit. benefactors of Lamas.

Sings, and plays on his flute of reed.
 They who are enslaved by worldly passions,
 Who in this world are given to worldliness,
 I, with the eye of yoga (far-reaching),
 On the top of the resplendent jeweled rock (?),
 Teach them by parable the impermanency of the visible world.
 A mirage, a bubble deem all worldly desires,
 This life, the vision of a dream,
 On the ignorant think with kindness.
 Feed on the vacuity of space.
 Reflect with never-wandering minds:
 All the different images which may appear—
 Forsooth, 'tis but the universal law of things—
 They all, whate'er we see, are of a truth unreal.

5. On the Book of Hierotheus by a Syrian Mystic of the Fifth Century, by Mr. A. L. Frothingham, Jr., of Baltimore, Md.

The appearance of the Pseudo-Dionysian writings in the fifth or sixth century is a fact familiar to all students of church history, as is also the influence which they exercised from that time to the renaissance. Being the production of a master-mind and covering a vast field—from the minutest regulations of the ritual to the most abstruse philosophical speculations—they came into favor not only with the more theoretic Orientals but also with the practical leaders of the Roman church, to whom they gave support in questions of church discipline and ritual. Pseudo-Dionysius, who was in all probability a Syrian monk, became during the scholastic period the great authority: his writings were the source of most of the theories propounded first in one form by John Scotus Erigena, and later in others by the school of St. Victor, by the German mystics Eckhart and Tauler, and by Thomas Aquinas himself. To read both Aquinas and Bonaventura carries one back to Dionysius as their immediate inspiring source. The Neo-Platonists of the fifteenth century, like Nicolaus Cusanus, Pico della Mirandola, Marsilio Ficino and others, continue to look up to him with reverence.

Now Pseudo-Dionysius states that he had two teachers in the faith, St. Paul, and one named *Hierotheus*: the former is of course a fiction, the latter may have more reality as will soon be demonstrated. Hierotheus is praised by him as a divine and inspired Mystic, whose writings were a second Bible and whose knowledge of divine things far exceeded his own. Pseudo-Dionysius also gives (*Div. Names*, ch. ii. § x.; ch. iv. § xv-xvii.; and *Eccl. Hier.* ch. ii. § i.) certain extracts from *Erotic Hymns* and from a work entitled *The Elements of Theology* which he attributes to Hierotheus. If all mediæval philosophy and mysticism is founded on Pseudo-Dionysius, of what interest would it not be to discover the very source of these doctrines in the writings of Hierotheus? Unfortunately nothing had ever come to light respecting the master of Dionysius and he had come to be regarded as a fanciful personage. About two years ago I had the good fortune not only to bring to light what is, in all probability, the *opus magnum* of Pseudo-Hierotheus, but also to show who is on good evidence to be considered as its real author. Of this work and the questions connected with it I propose to give a succinct account in this paper.

A Syriac MS. of the British Museum (Rich 7189) described in Rosen and Forshall's early catalogue, contains a work the title of which is: *kēthava dēqadisha ĩrothēos dē'al rāze gēnēze dēbeth Allaha*, 'The Book of Hierotheus, on the hidden mysteries of the Divine Nature.' Still the title always given to it is simply "The Book of Hierotheus." The MS. is unique, being the very one which the Patriarch Gregory Bar'ebraia succeeded in procuring, in the thirteenth century, through his agents, and of which he made an abridgment which exists in MS. at Paris (Bib. Nat.), in the British Museum, and at Oxford. This MS. is a small folio of the thirteenth century containing 167 sheets, each page being divided into two columns. Of this the text of the Book of Hierotheus occupies but a fifth part, the rest consisting of an elaborate commentary by Theodosius, Patriarch of Antioch from 887 to 895. The work is dedicated to his "son" and beloved disciple, which of course is taken by Theodosius to mean Dionysius the Areopa-

gite: it is divided into five books, each of which contains a number of chapters. The work is certainly not by a first-century Hierotheus, but is one of those forgeries which were so common, especially in Egypt and Syria. Let us see, before attempting to analyse it, who may be its real author. We read in the work of Gregory Bar'ebraia, entitled *mênârath qudshe 'al shetêse 'ittanaiâtha*, 'The light of the saints on the fundamental doctrines of the Church,' at the close of an enumeration of heresies: "Thirtieth heresy: that of Stephen bar Sudaili. He affirmed that there would be an end to hell-torments and that the impious would not suffer forever, but would be purified by fire. Thus would mercy be shown even to demons and everything would return into the divine nature, that, as Paul says, *God may be all in all*. He also wrote a book in support of this opinion and called it by the name of Hierotheus the master of the holy Dionysius, as if it were by the holy Hierotheus himself, which many also believe." In a passage of his Ecclesiastical History, he makes a similar statement in fewer words, the first of which I will give, as they add to the information given above. He says: "At this time (i. e. under the Patriarch Sergius of Antioch) Stephen bar Sudaili became notorious as a monk in Edessa." This statement of Bar'ebraia is not an *ipse dixit*, but is found to be corroborated by writers living more than four centuries before him, namely, John of Dara, and Cyriacus, Patriarch of Antioch from 793 to 817.

Cyriacus is quoted by Bar'ebraia in his Nomocanon as saying, "The book entitled The Book of Hierotheus is not by him, but probably by the heretic, Stephen bar Sudaili." John of Dara, who cannot have lived later than the eighth century and was perhaps earlier, says in his inedited work, *'al qêiâma dêphagre nashâie*, 'On the resurrection of human bodies,' "Diodorus of Tarsus in the work which he wrote on the Oeconomy, and Theodore his disciple and the master of Nestorius, say in many places that there is an end to condemnation. The same view is taken by the work called The Book of Hierotheus, which is in reality not by him, but was skillfully written by another in his name, and is by Stephen bar Sudaili. Gregory of Nyssa also, in his treatise to Martina and in that to his sister Macrina, and in other writings, teaches the doctrine of apocatastasis, that is, the return to the first principle; and says that there will be an end to hell-torments."

There seems then to be a chain of tradition from the seventh or eighth to the thirteenth century assigning to one Stephen bar Sudaili the authorship of the Book of Hierotheus.

Who then was Stephen bar Sudaili? All the information we can gather regarding him, besides the mention in Bar'ebraia, is from two inedited Syriac letters, one addressed by Jacob, bishop of Sarug, to Bar Sudaili himself, and the other sent by Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, to some priests of Edessa, condemning Bar Sudaili's doctrines. (From Asseman's account of these letters, Neander, Gfrörer, Dorner, and others give an important position to him). From them we learn that Stephen was a native of Edessa, and flourished apparently during the last decade of the fifth century and the first of the sixth: that is, he comes to our notice during this period. He was a monk of some repute for sanctity and good works, and at first seems to have been an esteemed member of the Monophysite sect, though he was afterwards excommunicated, and the record of this remains in the Jacobite profession of faith. Philoxenus speaks of his having followed for some time John of Egypt, and having afterwards imitated him in originating a heresy. To this fact may be added that there remain some short inedited extracts on the faith which go under the name of Hierotheus, originally written in Coptic. There is therefore a strong presumption that Bar Sudaili passed a portion of his early career in Egypt, and imbibed there a portion of his religious ideas. He afterwards returned to Edessa, and during his residence there Jacob of Sarug wrote him the above-mentioned letter of mild reproof concerning the opinion he held that the punishment of the wicked was but temporary, that hell would pass away, and all creatures be redeemed.

Quite soon (perhaps in a few years) after this, towards the year 500, we conjecture, he left Edessa to avoid persecution, and went to Jerusalem, where he entered a monastery and soon made his emanistic theories well known, and was active in forming a mystical sect. He caused a great outcry against him among the monks by writing on the wall of his cell, "All nature is consubstantial with the divine Essence." The period of his stay in Jerusalem may be fixed, from a comparison of the dates of Philoxenus and Elias of Jerusalem, at between 494 and

513. The date of Philoxenus' letter, written when Bar Sudaili had evidently not been long at Jerusalem, as it refers to his disputes with the Patriarch Elias, must be placed at about 510. This letter was written to Abraham and Orestes, priests of Edessa, as a warning against the intrigues and pernicious teaching of Bar Sudaili. It begins thus: "I have learned that Stephen the scribe, who departed from among us some time since and now resides in the region of Jerusalem, sent to you a short while ago some of his followers with letters and books composed by him. He took care at the same time that the arrival of those whom he had sent, as well as what he was astutely trying to accomplish, should be concealed from us; for he thought that were I to learn that he had sent you men and also writings, his hopes might be disappointed. He has insanely imagined . . . to put forth in a book an impious and foolish doctrine, which is worthy of being reputed not only a heresy but worse than heathenism and Judaism, because it openly assimilates the creation to God and teaches that everything must become like him." In another part he discusses Bar Sudaili's theory that the existence of the world was divided into three periods: 1st, the present fallen and evil condition; 2d, the millenium, when there is perfect rest and all is united to Christ; and 3d, the consummation and perfection, when God will be all in all, and there will be a confusion not only of the creation with the divine substance but also of the persons of the Trinity one with another.

Philoxenus shows Stephen to be a learned man, who commented extensively on the Scriptures in a mystical manner. He mentions as the first work by him which came to his notice a Commentary on the Psalms. Although Philoxenus refers in a casual way to several other writings by Bar Sudaili, it seems certain that he was not acquainted with the Book of Hierotheus.

Without giving any more time to an examination of the opinions of Bar Sudaili as they are expressed by Philoxenus, I will pass to the Book of Hierotheus. The Syriac text we possess is asserted to be not the original but merely a translation from a Greek original. The authority for this is the introduction of the supposed anonymous translator, who dedicated the version to his Mæcenas named Phileos, who had requested him to perform this work; a postscript of similar import closes the volume. To both of these Theodosius appended his commentary, and they must have formed part of the original text. This may appear quite correct; but our suspicions are awakened by finding the Syriac itself remarkably pure, easy, and idiomatic, and showing no traces of being fettered by the necessities of a translation. Compare this with the result obtained in the version of Dionysius the Areopagite by such a learned man and so competent a translator as Sergius of Rasain, who was almost a contemporary of Bar Sudaili. If we consider the Book of Hierotheus to be the work of Bar Sudaili, two hypotheses seem to be at hand to explain the idiomatic quality of the Syriac. Either, 1. we may allow that Bar Sudaili wrote the work first in Greek, but that in order to foster his propaganda in Edessa he himself wrote a duplicate in Syriac, or, 2. we may suppose that the existence of a Greek original was entirely fictitious, and that the introduction of the translator was manufactured by Bar Sudaili; this fiction was of course necessary in order to render the fraud credible. In this case the Syriac text which we possess is the real original. Taking into account the absence of any reliable traces of the existence at any period of a Greek text, I think the latter alternative the more plausible. While we find a constant tradition in the Syrian Church on the book and its author, there does not seem to exist a single mention of it by a Greek writer.

I will now give a rapid analysis of the work, only dwelling on the most salient points. It is a real theological epic, in which are developed in a most vivid manner the mystical scenes through which the soul passes on its ascent towards the Arch-Good—the Neo-Platonic One—conceived as primordial chaos. The writer himself professes to have more than once attained to the highest point of mystic union with the Arch-Good. To describe the contents in a few words, at the beginning we find the statement regarding absolute existence and the emanation from primordial Essence of the spiritual and material universes. Then comes what occupies almost the whole work—the experiences of the mind in search of perfection during this life, the key-note to which is its absolute identification with Christ, and its attempt by performing in a spiritual sense all the acts of Christ's economy to become one with Him. Finally comes the description of the various

phases of existence, as the mind rises into complete union with the primordial chaotic essence and ultimate absorption into it.

The two most interesting points in his whole system are his theory of the evolution of the universe, and his theory of its return to the original chaos. With him all distinct existence—even the Trinity—is produced by a fall. From the first fall came the Universal Essence, which, he says, is called universal as it existed after separation from the Good, and before the ordered distinction: for to it came all that which was separated from the Good, and from it came forth every nature which appears separately and distinctly. This first emanation of Hierotheus corresponds to the Intelligence of Plotinus and to the One of Proclus, containing all things within itself, but with the germs of distinct existence. Hierotheus' elaborate and orderly system of hierarchies of spiritual beings, both celestial and infernal, we can compare both with that of Plotinus and with the Aeons of the Gnostics. Most remarkable are the chapters where with bold and unrestrained reasoning he shows that the mind, after passing through its many trials triumphantly and stamping out all traces of the evil part of its nature, rises beyond the rank of Christ, the Son, beyond the Spirit and beyond Divinity, "for all distinction will cease and all nature will be confused with the Father." Essence alone will remain.

This is all I can say in such a brief notice of the contents. I cannot establish the many points of contact with the views of Bar Sudaili as stated by Philoxenus, or with the fragments quoted by Dionysius. The main thing for understanding the form in which the author clothes his thought, is to bear in mind that absolute secrecy is rigidly enjoined on almost every page; the initiated are bound by threats not to reveal any of the doctrines set forth in the Book, for fear of persecution. The same feeling prevailed even in the time of the Patriarch Theodosius, and he has recounted the difficulties he encountered in his search for a copy of the Book. It was not intended to go beyond a limited circle of the initiated.

The relation of the Book of Hierotheus to the Dionysian writings is an important factor in the problem. The question is: might it not have been produced precisely in view of the references to Hierotheus in Pseudo-Dionysius, and after the latter had come into vogue? Now I have looked there in vain for anything resembling the passages quoted by Dionysius from the writings of Hierotheus. If Hierotheus had been posterior, it would have been natural to use the title, *Elements of Theology*, given by Dionysius to the work of his master which he quotes, and to incorporate as a proof of authenticity the passages quoted by Dionysius. Throughout the book, however, there is no trace of any attempt to relate itself to the Dionysian writings; his name even is not mentioned. But the point of greatest importance is the internal evidence to be drawn from the ideal relation between them. The intellectual standpoint of the two minds was totally different, and both were original. The thought of Pseudo-Hierotheus is distinct from any philosophical system; he claims direct vision and draws his theories from his own consciousness, expressing them with great naïveté and freshness: it is the divine seer, not the philosophic genius, who speaks. On reading his Book one feels it to be the genuine out-pouring of a strongly excited religious imagination and the work of an original mind. Although in his system we find ideas from both the Christian and Pagan Schools of Alexandria, as well as traces from the Kabbalistic and Gnostic systems and even from the early Chaldaean cosmogony, yet they are marshalled into a perfectly symmetrical and harmonious whole in subordination to the ideas peculiar to Hierotheus himself. With him there is hardly ever any attempt at discussion; his theories are successively unfolded as absolute and undeniable certainties, as things which he has known and seen.

On the other hand, although Pseudo-Dionysius shows much of the same spirit in his *Mystical Theology* and *Divine Names*, yet even here there appears the logical element so conspicuous in his writings, as well as a far closer connection with the Neo-Platonists, which classifies him in a different branch of the mystical school from that of Pseudo-Hierotheus. They seem to connect the one with the West-Syrian School of Antioch, and the other with the East-Syrian School of Edessa. The relation just traced between the two would give, according to the natural development of schools, the priority to Hierotheus.

The results obtained by bringing to light this work are various. 1. Until now the period of the composition of the Pseudo-Dionysian writings could not be defined with certainty within a hundred years. Now the date is probably narrowed down within the limits of a few years before or after 500, and this not from any surmises but from certain data. 2. It becomes a moral certainty that Pseudo-Dionysius was a Syrian monk, while before this he has been variously called an Egyptian, a Greek, and a Syrian. 3. The source is disclosed from which Pseudo-Dionysius derived the mystical part of his opinions. 4. The work is the unique instance of a Spiritual Guide, a Manual of Mysticism—comparable on another plane to the *Imitation of Christ*—which exercised a strong influence on eastern thinkers.

Some remarks on the commentary of Theodosius will not be out of place. Throughout it, to all appearance, he believes implicitly in the work having been written by a first-century Hierotheus. Besides a long general introduction, each of the five books is preceded by a particular one. To the text of the chapters the commentary is attached in two different manners in different parts of the MS.: either the whole text of the chapter is given first, and then repeated in short sections, each with its commentary, or else the latter system alone is employed. Setting aside a considerable portion which is exegetical and explanatory of the writer's opinions, a large part consists in definitions of the words used in the text. Not only does Theodosius at the very beginning explain a long list of words in general use throughout the Book, but in every chapter he analyzes all the significant words and expressions. The definitions are often mystical and suited only to the special use of the word in Hierotheus, but in many cases they are of general use and application; and although they are in a somewhat philosophical form, yet they are always clear and to the point. The manner of defining is quite similar to that used later by the Arabian lexicographers. Theodosius is almost contemporary with Bar Ali, the author of the Syro-Arabic Glossary which is the earliest lexicographical work of any importance for Syriac. His philological endeavors show at least a tendency to analyze the language critically, and are of especial interest as explaining the Syriac by itself, and not by Arabic as in Bar Ali and Bar Bahlûl.

My intention is to publish first an introductory volume, including the text and translation of the letters of Jacob of Sarug and Philoxenus of Mabug, together with all I have been able to collect concerning Bar Sudaili and his relation to the Book of Hierotheus. It will also contain whatever is known of the Book, and finally a full analysis of the same. This volume is now in the printer's hands, and I expect it to appear before the summer. I also intend soon to prepare an edition of the text of the Book of Hierotheus with an English translation and commentary, and with as much of the commentary of Theodosius as may seem feasible.

6. On the thesis, *Zoan is Tanis magna, a suburb of Memphis, and not San el-Hagar or Tanis parva in the Delta*, by Mr. F. C. Whitehouse.

All the scholars who have given any attention to the subject are agreed that San el-Hagar is the Zoan of the Old Testament. They hold with unanimity that it was an imperial residence in the time of Isaiah and Ezekiel, and the seat of the Tanitic Dynasties. Almost without exception they infer that it was the palace of the Pharaohs of the patriarch Joseph and the Exodus. They usually identify it with Ra'amessu Miamun, a city built by Ra'amessu II., and assume that the descriptive terms, 'field of Zoan,' 'land of Egypt,' 'land of Mizraim,' 'land of Goshen,' 'land of Arabia,' 'the well-watered,' 'the rich,' 'the royal pasturages,' and other equivalent expressions, describe the adjacent country.

The Egypt Exploration Fund has assumed that this view is not open to question, and has accordingly explored the mound at San el-Hagar—but without finding any monument which confirms the opinion commonly entertained. The question, if there be any, is therefore still purely literary, and the operations of this Society having brought the subject under discussion, advantage should be taken of this opportunity to arrive at the truth.

The definition given by Fuerst (2d ed.) is a brief and comprehensive classification:

נָוֶן *n. p.* of the metropolis (1) of Lower Egypt (2), and at the same time the oldest (3) city of the country (4) as well as the abode (5) of its (6) kings (7), Num. xiii. 22 (8), the nearest (9) district (10) of which was called שְׂרֵי־צֶנֶן (11), Ps. lxxviii. 12. 43 (12). It lay on the east bank (13) of the Tanitic branch of the Nile, which received its name from it (14), and was the seat (15) of a dynasty down to (16) the time of Psammetichus (17), Is. xix. 11. 13, xxx. 4 (18), Ez. xxx. 14 (19), quoted by Manetho as the 21st and 23d (20). The LXX. (21) and Targum (22) render it by *Távς*; Saadia, by the Arabic form *صان* (23). The Tanis of classical writers and נָוֶן is the Coptic SANĒ, SANI, SAANE, i. e. the low region (24), whence the Hebrew and Arabic forms originated (25).

In A. D. 1168, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela returning from Bagdad to Spain descended the Nile. He visited the Fayoum and identified it with Pithom. Four days brought him "to Mizraim, commonly called Old Cairo." The Rabbi Nathaniel, president of the Jewish University and Grand Rabbi of Egypt, was at that time "one of the officers of the great king, who resided in the fortress of Zoan in the city of Mizraim. The residence of Zoan was selected for its convenience. Zoan is enclosed by a wall, whereas Mizraim is open." It is certain therefore that in the twelfth century the Jewish inhabitants—numerous, wealthy, and learned—living under the walls of Babylon-Cairo, now Masr, supposed that the land of Zoan, Mizraim, and Raameses, lay to the south of Heliopolis and was the district which Isaiah and Ezekiel termed Zoan and the LXX. translated *Távς*. In the Itinerary of Antoninus Martyr, *ca.* A. D. 530, chap. xliii., this Italian pilgrim visits the nilometer at Rhoda (*Sunaa* الصنائة, Maçoudi, ii. 366), and two cities on either bank of the Nile "which the daughters of Lot are said to have built: one of them is named Babylonia." "Then (he) came through the plains of Tanis, to the city of Memphis, and to Antinoe where Pharaoh lived, from which cities the children of Israel went out." Josephus also fixes the starting-place of the Exodus at Heliopolis and particularizes the route. "The Hebrews went out of Egypt by Letopolis, a place at that time deserted, but where Babylon was built afterwards."

It is evident, therefore, that there was a continuous tradition in Egypt after the time of Josephus that the Raameses of the Pentateuch and the Zoan of the psalmist and prophets was a fortified and imperial residence within a short distance of Cairo—and, although also called Tanis, was not the place known by that name and described by Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, Stephen of Byzantium, and others, and therefore not the San-Tanis in the marshes of Menzaleh.

Following the order of Fuerst: (1.) There was no metropolis at San el-Hagar. It was never more than a large town (Steph. B.), and not at any time, according to classic writers, of even second rank. (2.) It never had, or could have had any preëminence or authority over Lower Egypt. Communication and commerce in the Delta necessarily followed the great canals and branches of the river. In the case of a forced march only (such as that of Titus) would it have been deemed expedient to cross the Delta. Commerce ascended one branch to descend another. Memphis-Heliopolis was the heart of the arterial and venous system of both the branches and canals of the Nile.

(3.) Zoan-Tanis is said to have been the oldest city because in Num. xiii. 22, a parenthetical clause [perhaps added by a later hand?] reads "now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." But Josephus, B. J. iv. 9. 7, explains: "Now the people of that country [near Hebron] say that it is a more ancient city not only than any in that country but than Memphis in Egypt, and accordingly its age is reckoned at 2,300 years. They also relate that it had been the habitation of Abraham." The context seems to suggest that the Anakim occupied Hebron before Memphis, and that both cities were founded by them. San-Tanis on the edge of the Delta must have been, like similar towns in Holland, one of the later acquisitions from the salt marshes. It is not conceivable that an A. U. C. should date from the lake-dwellings of fishermen, or that an epoch could be fixed with such accuracy. On the other hand, the founding of Memphis, in that memorable year in which the Nile was diverted from its course (Herodotus), was a well-settled historical event. While Jablonski (*de terra Gosen*) has arrayed with great force arguments which seem to me to warrant his conclusion which places Goshen south of Cairo (Opuscula ii. 184, § viii.), it is greatly to be deprecated that he permitted

himself to dispute the evidence of Josephus and to assume that "castigandus est error Flavii Josephi de B. J. c. 9, § 7, מִצְרַיִם accipientis de Memphi." It is the more surprising because the site of Tanis-Zoan is the only objection which he considers weighty, and he felt himself obliged to leave it as a masked fortress in possession of his opponents; and therefore for nearly two centuries his admirable treatise has been disregarded.

(4.) Even had San-Tanis been the oldest city in the Delta, it certainly was not so old as Avaris (Hawara); and the term country is very loosely applied to a region which either like the Wadi Tumilat is covered with sand, or, sunk under the marshes towards Arabia and the Serbonian Bog, has "disappeared from the map of Modern Europe" (Brugsch, *Hist. Egypt*, ii. 338).

(5.) It was never the abode of the Pharaohs (Lepsius *Zeit. für Aeg. Spr.* 1883, ii.), for at best it was only a summer residence (see, *passim*, even R. S. Poole).

(6.) It was never even the *stammhaus* of a royal family. (7.) Its kings were apparently feudal barons in the ante-Moeris period, or among those kings (rajahs) of Lower Egypt who found themselves shut up in their [separate] cities in B. C. 1300. See Dr. Birch, *Records of the Past*, iv. 39. cited by Dr. Brugsch, ii., p. 117.

(8.) The passage in Numbers is conclusive against a Zoan-Tanis north of Heliopolis. The *Távς* of the LXX. in B. C. 180 is the *Távς* of Josephus, *Ant.* i. 8. 3; but it is also the Babylonia-Tanis-Memphis of Antoninus, and the Zoan-Mizraim of R. Benjamin. It is expressly qualified as Tanis in Egypt, i. e. in the district of Mizraim-Misr-Gauf, from Heliopolis to Heracleopolis. The words seem to have been added for that purpose. Titus, according to Josephus, in the expedition against Jerusalem, landing at Alexandria marched to Thmouis, and camped for the night at a certain small town called Tanis (*κατὰ πολίχνην τινὰ Τάνιν*), *B. J.* iv. 11. 5. His second station was Heracleopolis. As this was Heracleopolis Parva, so both Thmouis and Tanis were too insignificant to be mistaken for the vast and important places south of the 'straits' (Mizraim) of Middle Egypt, and its Bab (Babylon) at On-Heliopolis. The law of dualistic nomenclature in Egyptian geography has never been formulated. It exists. The facts also are well known. Aphroditopolis, Apollinopolis, Heracleopolis, Hermopolis, Heroonpolis (see Migne, note on Jerome), are familiar examples, and have created confusion. So Dr. Lepsius, "Diese Duplicität der Namen in Nubien und in Ägypten muss uns wie bei den Doppelstädten in Ober- und Unter-ägypten auch immer veranlassen zu fragen ob der in Rede stehende Name dem Norden oder dem Süden angehört" (*Zeit.* 1883, p. 47). Thus Tanis of Egypt was Tanis Magna, Zoan-Cairo, the Tanis of the South.

The nearest (9) district (10) of San el-Hagar was in the days of Abraham the fetid marsh (Wilkinson) subsequently converted into a lake (Edrisi). It was never called (11) שַׁרְיָעַן, for Saïd was a technical term (Abulfeda) so inscribed on the MS. map of Edrisi, *Bib. Nat. Paris*, 1883, and translated *πεδίον* (LXX.) or campus (Antoninus).

The plague (*Ps.* lxxviii. 46) of the Locusts (12) must have been in a region lying between the two seas, so that the west wind off the sea of Moeris blew the insects into the Sea of Reeds. It is doubtful whether San el-Hagar ever lay (13) on a bank of the Nile. The Tanitic branch of the Nile received its name under the walls of Zoan-Tanis-Memphis. It gave its name to its *ostium* or sea-port, through which Egypt traded with Phœnicia.

(15.) Never the seat of a dynasty for any continuous (16) period, there is nothing to lead us to believe that in the time of Psammetichus (17) ambassadors from the kings of Judah (Isaiah) (18) would have descended North from Memphis to San-Tanis-Parva, while the messengers of the same embassy were ascending seventy miles to the South of Cairo to Hanes-Heracleopolis-Magna. Nor would (19) the sacking of this provincial capital be named in the same category with such ruin as that wrought "when Cambyses laid Mizraim-Egypt waste" (Josephus), and successively mastered the cities of the Heptanomis.

(20.) It is by no means probable that Manetho ever intended to indicate dynasties ruling in San-Tanis. The Semitic historians are explicit. The dynasties of Egypt, enumerated by Makrizi (except the Alexandrian), ruled from their various fortresses near Cairo. Memphis, Fostat, Al-asker, Al-kataï, Cahira, were the Louvre, Luxembourg, Elysée, Vincennes, or Versailles of the natural home of all the Lords of the Two Egypts.

(21.) The LXX. having therefore qualified Tanis, could not suppose (ca. B. C. 180) that any further explanation was needed. Nor was it, as the consensus of tradition shows. The Targumists (22), Jonathan and Jerusalem, in Gen. xlvii. 11, put Pelusium for Raameses, and translate Ex. i. 11 by **טַנַּן** (Tanin) and **פְּלוּסִין** (Pelusin); but Antoninus has explained that two faubourgs of Memphis were called after the daughters of Lot, and "a daughter of Lot" was (patronymically) **פְּלוּסִית** (i. e. *Pa-Lot-ith*). And so we find that a Tanin and a Pelusium were pointed out as holy places to Latin pilgrims in the fifth century near Cairo. See Fabricius, Codex Pseudep. V. T. 2d ed., Hamburg, 1722, p. 431.

If Es-Saadia renders Zoan **صَان** (23), he never doubted that Pithom was the Fayoum, and Heliopolis or "El-Arish" (i. e. Pelusium-Memphis) the starting-place of the Exodus. If SANE be Coptic for the low region (24), it is also equivalent to Zoan in its sense of convenient (R. Benjamin) from the obvious association of Ta-an (the Valley) with an abundant supply of water. The Hebrew and Arabic names originated in this connection and were so applied.

There is a very large body of evidence to corroborate these positions, well collected and lucidly stated by Jablonski (op. ii.). Dr. Birch has shown that Tanen was a name for Memphis B. C. 1300. Meneptah II. had entrenchments drawn to protect the city of On, the city of the god Tum, and to protect the great fortress of Tanen (i. e. Memphis). Records of the Past, iv. p. 39, cited by Brugsch. Hist. ii. 117.

7. On the second Part of the fifth Volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, by Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Cambridge, Mass.

This paper called attention to the alphabetical arrangement of the list of verb-forms published on page 45. Two principles of arrangement were pointed out. 1. Many words are placed together in a group, because they have the same first two radicals. 2. The words within such groups are arranged alphabetically, according to the last letter, as in native Arabic lexicons. The order of the letters familiar to the scribe differs but slightly from the Hebrew order. The tablet bears no date, which is the more to be regretted, because it is very interesting to inquire how early the Babylonians and Assyrians became acquainted with an alphabet. The place of discovery might give some clue to the date of the tablet.

On page 66 a clay cylinder inscription of Antiochus is published, recording his restoring and adorning two great Babylonian temples. He styles himself *An-ti-'i-ku-us*, the great king, the mighty king, son of *Si-lu-uk-ku* (Seleucus), the king, *Ma-ak-ka-du-na-a-a* (the Macedonian). At the close he invokes blessings on himself, on his son *Si-lu-uk-ku*, and on his wife the queen, who bears the name *As-ta-ar-ta-ni-ik-ku* i. e. *Στρατονίκη*. The tone of the inscription is as reverent toward the god Nabu as any native Babylonian king might have employed. It is probable that Antiochus undertook the restoration for state reasons, just as Cyrus seems to have done, and that the language is the conventional scribal-priestly style, which had been in use for many generations.

8. On the classification of certain Aorist-forms in Sanskrit, by Prof. W. D. Whitney, of New Haven, Conn.

There are certain 2d and 3d persons singular middle in Sanskrit, belonging to the aorist, respecting which it may be doubtful to which form of the aorist, the root-aorist or the s-aorist, they ought to be referred; the native grammarians classify them as belonging to the latter. Attention was called to these in the writer's Sanskrit Grammar (§§ 834, 881, 883-4); but the fuller collection of material, and the addition of other facts bearing upon the question, make a re-examination of it not superfluous.

The first group of roots that may be noticed making such forms end in *r*: thus, from *kṛ* 'make,' *akṛthās akṛta*. There are 9 roots from which forms like these are quotable: *kṛ* 'make,' *dhṛ* 'heed,' *āhr*, *bhr*, *mṛ* 'die,' *vr* 'cover,' *vr* 'choose,' *śṛ*, *hr*; with three or four exceptions, the forms occur only in the older or pre-classical language. Is there, now, any good reason why we should assume mutilation of

a-kṛs-thūs, a-kṛs-ta etc., by omission of the aorist-sign *s*? From three of the roots in question, we have unmistakable root-aorist middle forms in the older language: thus, *akri akrātīm akrata krāṇa, amrātīm, avri*; from three others are found active persons of the same formation; from six of the nine occur also middle forms from the *s*-aorist. There is, then, plenty of justification for regarding the forms in question as made from the root-aorist; and, until some reason or analogy shall be made out for the otherwise assumable loss of the *s*, such would appear to be the preferable view. More confidently than this we perhaps have not the right to speak, until we can explain why *r* alone among final vowels is not strengthened in the middle tense-stem of the *s*-aorist, or why there is an entire absence in the language not only of such forms as *akṛsthās akṛsta*, but also of any others in which a *s* immediately follows a short vowel; although such forms as *aksesthās, aneṣṭa, acyosthās acyosta* are made often enough from roots ending in *i, ī, u*; also such as *ahāsthās ahāṣṭa*, and *agīsthās agīṣṭa*, from *ā*-roots, and *akṣamsthās akṣamīṣṭa* from roots ending in a nasal. On the other hand, from certain roots in *ā* and in a nasal we have forms exhibiting a short vowel, and after them an absence of the *s*. Thus, the three roots *dā* 'give,' *dhā* 'put,' and *sthā* all make forms like *adithās aḍīta*. The native grammar reckons these to the *s*-aorist, in the same manner as those discussed above; but the question again arises whether this is right. And the occurrence in the older language of such evident root-aorist forms as *adīmahi, adhīmahi, asthīran* again indicates that the forms are probably of the same order. A mutilation of *adīsthās* to *adithās* seems even less plausible than of *akṛsthās* to *akṛthās*. Once more, from three nasal roots we have the forms *agathās agata, atathās atata, and amata*, and are taught by the grammarians to refer them to the *s*-aorist: while the analogy of the root-imperfect *ahathās ahata* from the root *han*, and the occurrence of such aorist persons from the same verbs as *gamamahi agmata, atnata, amanmahī*, teach us yet again to regard the classification as false, and the forms in question as belonging to the root-aorist. Not admitting any middle inflection as belonging to the root-aorist, the native grammar would appear to have referred to the *s*-aorist such relics of the former as had not been entirely lost in the later language.

Next we come to consider the cases of the same kind from roots ending in non-nasal mutes. That, in the inflection of such roots, the *s* aorist-sign should be lost between the final mute and the *t* or *th* of the personal ending, is both supported by other familiar facts in the language (as *ut-thā, ut-tabh*), and put beyond question by the occurrence of similarly mutilated forms of the active aorist, where the vriddhied root-vowel leaves no room for doubt as to the classification. The quotable examples of the latter kind are very few: they are *achāntta* (✓*chand*), *tāptam, cāpta, abhākta, amāuktam*. In the last two cases, it will be noticed, the combination is not made as if from *abhāks-ta, amāuks-tam* (which, according to ordinary euphonic rule, would yield *abhāṣṭa, amāuṣṭam*); the uncombined *s* is as totally lost as in *tāp-tam* for *tāps-tam*. But in the middle, where the root-vowel remains unstrengthened alike in the root-aorist and the *s*-aorist, the true classification becomes a matter of real doubt. For example, *patthās* admits of explanation equally as for *pad-thās* and *pad-s-thās*; and there are supporting forms for either: *apadmahi* and *apadran* for the former, *apatsi* and *apatsata* for the latter. A like case is *ayukthās ayukta*, where the occurrence of *ayūji ayujmahi ayujran* makes for the one explanation, and that of *ayukṣi* and *ayukṣata* for the other; and the objection that *ayuks + ta* ought to make *ayusta* is refuted by *abhākta* etc., considered above. It is plainly impossible to determine these and similar cases with certainty; in the later language they must be referred to the *s*-aorist; and this is especially easy if other forms of that aorist occur. The persons are quotable from 20 roots: 5 ending in *d* (*chid, nud, pad, bhid, mad*), 3 in *p* (*tap, lip, srp*), 4 in *c* (*prc, muc, ric, ruc*), 1 in *ch* (*prach*), 7 in *j* (*bhaj, yuj, vij, vrj, saj, yaj, strj*); and the root in *ch* (*prach*) and two of those in *j* (*yaj, strj*) have, as in their other forms (e. g. the passive p'ple), *s* before the endings—thus, *apṛasta, ayasta, asṛsthās asṛsta*; while those in *c*, and the others in *j*, have in like manner *k*—thus, *apṛkthās aprkta, vikthās vikta*, etc.

One other group of forms calls for notice: those, namely, made from roots ending in a sonant aspirate, as *rudh*. For these, the native grammar prescribes the omission of the *s* in both active and middle, before an ending in *t* or *th*, and then the further combination as if the sibilant had never been present: for exam-

ple, the 2d plur. *arāuddha*, as if from *arāudh-s-ta* directly, with loss of *s*, not from *arāuts* (= *arāudh + s*) + *ta*; and in like manner *arāuddham arāuddhām* active, and *aruddhās aruddha* middle. No example, now, of such an active form is, to my knowledge, quotable from the whole literature, earlier or later; and of the middle forms the examples are excessively few: namely, *arabdhā*, *alabdhā*, *aruddha* from the older language; *abuddha*, *ayuddha* from the classical; and the anomalous *drogdhās* (which we may doubtless amend to *drugdhās*) from the epic (MBh. iii. 11,002, p. 569). All these middle forms, it is evident, could be without difficulty regarded as belonging to the root-aorist; and beside *aruddha*, found only in Māitr. S., we have in the same text *arudhma*; while *abudhran* in RV. gives a like aspect to *abuddha*. That, however, the reference of these forms to the *s*-aorist, as made by the Hindu grammarians, involves no unsupported and inadmissible phonetic process is, in the first place, made probable by the occurrence of such forms as *abhākta*, *amāuktam*, etc., treated of above, which show a like total loss of the sibilant; and, in the second place, it is put beyond question by a set of curious and apparently anomalous forms made from the roots *ghas* and *bhas*. Both these roots, namely, show a disposition to suffer elision of the radical vowel (thus, *aksan jakṣiti*, *bapsati*); and then, before a *t*, the *s* equally disappears without trace, and the *t* is combined immediately with the preceding aspirate. Thus, from *ghas* comes the augmentless 3d sing. impf. middle *gāha* (for *gh-s-ta*), the pass. p'ple *gdha* (in *agdhād*), and the noun *gdhi* (in *sagdhi*). These are all of the greatest rarity; but from the reduplicated root-form *jakṣ* (= *ja-gh[a]s*), the derivatives *jag-dha*, *jogdhum*, *jagdhvā*, *jagdhi* are not uncommon, and occur in every period of the history of the language. From *bhas* or the reduplicated *baps* occurs only *babdhām* (for *babh[s]tām*), and that only in a sentence quoted in the Nirukta (v. 12; the form is also given in Nāigh. iii. 8); but the analogy of the derivatives instanced above from *ghas* puts the genuineness of the form out of the question. There is involved here an anomaly in the phonetic treatment of *s* which will probably be found very hard of explanation. But the grammarians are evidently justified in regarding these forms as capable of being referred to the *s*-aorist;* and we have here, as in the preceding group, persons which admit an alternative explanation, as belonging either to the root-aorist (in the older language) or to the *s*-aorist.

9. On a Syriac Manuscript of the Acts and Epistles, by Prof. Isaac H. Hall.

Some time last September I learned that Mr. R. S. Williams of Utica, N. Y., a brother of the late Prof. S. Wells Williams, and of the late William Frederic Williams, missionary to Mossul and Mardin, had an old Syriac manuscript in his possession, which was said to contain the book of Revelation. As only one manuscript of the Revelation in Syriac is practically known, and that late, I felt bound to inquire about it at once; and Mr. Williams very kindly and promptly sent me the book to examine. I immediately found that it did not contain the Revelation, but something about as rare and good: the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third Epistles of John, and the Epistle of Jude, in the version commonly printed in our Syriac New Testaments. That version, and all the printed copies, are known only from one manuscript, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, England; and Edward Pococke's edition of those Epistles, from that manuscript, printed by the Elzevirs at Leyden in 1630, is the sole parent of the printed texts, except so far as they have been modified by editorial conjecture.

In this fact lies the chief interest of the manuscript—but that is not its only interest. The manuscript consists of the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Pauline Epistles, in this order; with a few tables of feasts and lessons at the beginning, and a poem in honor of the Trinity and relating the manufacture of the book at the end. Its date is given in a colophon, which states that the work was finished at noon on Thursday, the fourth day of the sultry month Tammuz, in the year of the Greeks 1782. This date corresponds to Thursday, July 4th, 1471, according to our reckoning.

The manuscript is written on cotton paper, *charta damascena*, in a rather western

* And the paradigm given in the writer's Sanskrit Grammar, § 882, requires amendment accordingly.

Syrian hand, in two columns to the page, and regularly twenty-five lines to the column. One leaf, the first, is now gone, but it originally contained 150 leaves of text and tables, and two leaves more for the poem at the end. The size of the leaf is $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches; of the columns, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $2\frac{3}{8}$ wide; space between the columns, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch; size of the written page, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches. The quires are *quiniones* in the first part of the book, but in the latter parts they are *quaterniones*, except the last, which is a *ternio*. A later hand has numbered the folios, in Syriac numerals. While most of the manuscript is written on paper of double thickness, some portions are written on paper of single thickness, which, from the glazing (probably), has a darker color than the rest, and which allows the ink to show through. But it is all of the same age, as appears by many proofs.

Besides the scribe's general introduction and colophon, there is a preface to the Acts, to the Catholic Epistles as a whole, and to each one of the Pauline Epistles. That to Acts is avowedly taken from the "Treasure of Mysteries" of Mafrianus, *i. e.* Gregory Bar Hebraeus; and I find by comparing that the preface to the Catholic Epistles comes from the same source; but I am unable to say whether those to the Pauline Epistles do or do not, for I have not that portion of Gregory Bar Hebraeus to compare them with.

The church-lessons are given in red in the body of the text, and their numbers in the margin; and the Syrian sections, or chapters, are likewise given in the margin. In both, the Acts and Catholic Epistles are treated as one book, and all the Pauline Epistles (closing with the Epistle to the Hebrews) are treated as another.

The ordinary Syrian sections suffer some derangement because of the introduction of the *antilegomena* Epistles above mentioned. In the ancient and ordinary division the Acts and Catholic Epistles have 32 sections or chapters; section 31 beginning at I. John ii. 7, and section 32 at II. John iii. 21. But in this manuscript section 31 begins at II. Peter i. 13; section 32 at II. Peter iii. 8; section 33 at I. John ii. 21; and section 34 at I. John iv. 2; the whole having three more sections here than ordinarily.

The manuscript is very carefully vowelized and pointed throughout, with the points *qushshoyo* and *ruchocho* supplied in red. Besides these, there is an abundance of Syriac and Arabic marginal notes about the vowels and points, and about other matters, orthographical, grammatical, and linguistic, which give the manuscript a great and special value. Some of these notes are like those of Gregory Bar Hebraeus, but many, if not most of them, are not found in his commentary. There are, also, some literary and scriptural comments.

The *antilegomena* Epistles, above-mentioned, are a rather better text than that commonly printed, sometimes coinciding with the editorial conjectures, but quite as often holding to the other manuscript authority. It sometimes supplies Pockocke's omissions, *e. g.*, in rendering *προπέμψας* in III. John 6.

But further matters of interest about the text, the titles, the subscriptions, and the comments, may be left for a more extended article. A few words about the origin of the manuscript will be enough to close this preliminary account.

From various internal reasons, I have been inclined to suppose that the scribe was one of the St. Thomas, or Malabar Syriac Christians, on a visit to his western brethren; one of whom wrote the Leyden Apocalypse, with a few other manuscripts extant in Europe. The poem at the end calls the writer a layman, in a strange country, and uses the far-eastern term "*Sahib*" to characterize one of his friends. The scribe does not give his name, but tells pretty well the circumstances of his writing, as well as who furnished the paper, and who paid him for writing. But an extract from the poem itself will best tell sundry points:

"This book, in which are the Acts of the Apostles,
And their Catholic Epistles that are seven,
And the seven and seven of him that was architect of the faith—
Fourteen epistles of Paul [who was] filled with wisdom—
Was written for my dear brother in love,
Young Selimûn, who loves the wisdom from the Son of David,
Who endured much weariness with me, and showed me much kindness,
And in all my straitness shared with me in prudence.
A wretch wrote it, who is full of faults and all things hateful—
A stranger, yea, a sojourner in the region—

And that are not worthy that I should sign plainly in my book
 The name of my poverty, with a hand full of faults and follies.
 Behold, my head bowed, and with urgings and sighs,
 I beseech the brethren whom time in its length shall bring,
 That they will pray for me with a kind heart and with diligence,
 And that they will say to the Lord, with their remembrances and prayers:
 Good Lord, abundant in love and full of goodness,
 Pardon thy servant, who wrote this book in love;
 Forgive his defects, also his folly, and all faults
 That were committed by him in this world full of trouble;
 Forgive his fathers who erred in their opinion of the faith,
 And make their souls to dwell with thee in the kingdom."

The rest of the prayer includes all his benefactors, and is beautiful enough to translate entire; but besides the above reference to his heterodox fathers, we need only mention his two grandmothers and his mother, who brought him up and paid the expenses of his education, and a number of others whom he specifies by name as having helped him in the place of his exile, and were "diligent to establish his living without impediment." Unfortunately, a mutilated place occurs in the very interesting portion in which he speaks of the compilation of the book; but I will add a translation of the parts that remain:

"I have been diligent with this book [in my place of exile (?)],
 Vowel-signs and vowel-points
 Abominable to the Lord is
 And what also is that which is written according to strength?
 Let no man say that this
 Or that in my good knowledge or strength
 Far be it; this shall not be to the man
 Since I am vile, of the children of the grave.
 But I brought forward my writing to this worthy diligence,
 Just as a witness who in weakness beholds the letters.
 But it came to this polish for two reasons:
 First, from love to him who purchased the book and its polish;
 And second, because I had learned accuracy
 In respect to all the points and vowels of the words and syllables.
 I gathered books, so that what I knew not might be investigated;
 And I proved them in the strength of God who giveth wisdom;
 And in this book and that book, with fixed attention,
 I kept closely scrutinizing, bringing it forth word by word.
 And this also is a thing that shows a work of prosperity,
 That no man has diminished aught from it of the sweet strength of sweetness (or, correctness)."

(In the last line the word for "sweetness" contains a play that cannot be rendered: it means "correctness" as well.)

However, the conclusions to be drawn from this poem have to be modified in one respect by an Arabic note that just precedes the text of the manuscript, or that just follows the tables at the beginning. From this it appears that one Dadd esh-Shâmi il-Homsi, or David the Syrian of Homs (Hamath), had found this excellent work, owned by Suleimân (the name spelled Selimûn in Syriac and in the poem), at the fortress of Husn Kîfa, and finding it so much better than any manuscript of the same matter that he ever saw (and he had seen many)—divided into its chapters or sections, provided with lessons, notes, etc., and accurately made pointing and vowels—had obtained a copy for his own use. Husn Kîfa, as Dr. Van Dyck has kindly informed me, is described by the Arabic geographers as a fortress overlooking the Tigris, either quite up in Armenia or on the borders of Armenia and Mesopotamia. It would seem, therefore, that the poem describes an original critical edition of the Acts and Epistles, of which David of Hamath obtained a contemporaneous copy (this manuscript), which he may have brought westward. Still Dadd el-Homsi would not be called el-Homsi except away from home; and this fact rather goes against its having been brought westward. The handwriting of the book, though of the style called western, appears to be that which the Malabar sojourners used. However, I find nothing in the scrawls

(Syriac, Arabic, and Carshun) which shows any complete history of its possessors, but some few of them are written in a Nestorian hand. When Mr. Williams obtained the manuscript, he was a resident of Mardin, but he was continually engaged in making extensive journeys, so that it is impossible to say just where he procured it. He obtained it, however, from an aged priest, who probably only parted with it because he was unable to read it.

It is bound in old leather, with a flap, the stiffening of the boards being supplied by other Syriac manuscript. Except a new back, pasted on, the binding is doubtless the original one. Unlike many Syriac manuscripts, this book is a "ruled copy;" but the rulings about the columns show plainly that they were made after the writing, not made first to bound or mark it out.

10. On the Position of the Vāitāna-sūtra in the Literature of the Atharva-Veda, by Prof. M. Bloomfield, of Baltimore, Md.

In this paper an attempt is made to define more exactly than has as yet been done the position of the Vāitāna-sūtra in the literature of the AV. On several interesting points light was gained from the *Atharvaṇīya-paddhati*, a second paddhati to the house-ritual of the AV., two modern copies of which at the Royal Library of Berlin I had the privilege of using for my forthcoming edition of the Kāuṇika. This differs from the *daṣa karmāṇi* (Proceedings of the A. O. S. for October, 1883, p. vii) in that it not merely paraphrases the description of certain rites of the Kāuṇika, but rather comments upon them somewhat independently, occasionally differing from Dārila, the commentator of the Kāuṇika.

After a short introduction, it turns to the *paribhāṣa-sūtras* at the beginning of the Kāuṇika, then continues with the *ājya-tantra* (here called *bṛhat-kuṇḍikā*) with its appendix the *uttaratantra*; then it treats the personal *saṁskāras* (giving after the *upanayana* the following *vratas*: *vedavrata*, *kalpavrata*, *ṛṣṭāvrata* 1, *viśvāhinvrata*), then *laghucālakarman*, *bṛhacchālakarman*, *cāntyudaka*, *sampatkāma* (*karman*), *pustikāma* (*karman*), *abhicāra*, *vṛddhicṛāddha*, *dahanavidhi* (with *asthisamcayana*, *piṇḍadāna*, *śoḍaśopacāra*, and *vṛṣotsarga*).

The paddhati quotes, in addition to the regular Atharva-books: Dārila, once in connection with two other commentators, Bhadra and Rudra (*dārilo rudrabhadraṇ ca trayas te bhāṣyakārāḥ*), both of whom are not otherwise known as commentators to the Kāuṇika; further, a paddhatikāra named Keṇava; Upavarsa, the author of a *mīmāṁsā* (i. e. *pūrvamīmāṁsā*) work; likewise the *Pañcapatalikā*, cited also by Dārila to Kāu. 8. 22; and finally Pāṭhīnasi. The latter is cited frequently and familiarly by Dārila; and it seems barely possible that the smṛti of Pāṭhīnasi may go back to a dharma-sūtra of the AV. Often as this text is cited, no MS. of it has as yet come to light. The name of a teacher Māusalīputra Pāṭhīnasi occurs also in Atharva-pariṣiṣṭa 3. 3 and 17. 13.

Indian tradition is unanimous in presenting the ritualistic literature attaching itself to the Atharva-Veda as consisting of five kalpas, whose names vary somewhat in the different sources. By combining the statements of the *caranavyūha* of the White YV., the *caranavyūha* of the AV. (AV. Pariṣiṣṭa 49), the *Devī-purāṇa*, *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, *Atharvaṇīya-paddhati*, and Sāyaṇa in the introduction to his commentary to the AV. (London Academy, June 5, 1880), there result the following names:

- I. The *Kāuṇika-sūtra*, known also as *Saṁhita-kalpa*. or *Saṁhitā-vidhi*.
- II. The *Vitāna-kalpa* or *Vaitāna-sūtra*.
- III. The *Naksatra-kalpa*.
- IV. The *Čānti-kalpa*.
- V. The *Āngirasa-kalpa*, or *Abhicāra-kalpa* or *Vidhāna-kalpa*.

Very noteworthy is the statement of Sāyaṇa that these ritualistic books belong to four of the nine cākhās of the AV., the *Čaunakīyas*, the *Aksalās*, the *Saladās*, and the *Brahmavādās*. I find essentially the same statement in the introduction to the Atharva-Paddhati: *atharvavedosya nava bhedā bhavanti: tatra catuṣṛṣu cākhāsu čaunakādīṣu kāuṇiko 'yaṁ saṁhitāvidhih. . .* The last three of these texts hardly rank in value above pariṣiṣṭas, so that the authoritative ritual books of the AV. are the Kāuṇika and the Vāitāna.

Of the usual dependence of the grhya-sūtras upon the grānta-sūtras nothing is found in the correlation of these two texts. On the other hand, the Vāitāna

depends upon the Kāuṣika at almost every point where the difference of the subject-matter and the difference between Vedic ceremonial and house-rites allows it. The position of the Vāitāna may therefore perhaps be described as follows: It is not the product of practices in Vedic ceremonies, which have slowly and gradually developed in a certain school, but probably a somewhat conscious product, made at a time when Atharvavedins in the course of their polemics with the priests of the other Vedas began to feel the need of a manual of Vedic practices distinctly Atharvanic. That the AV. is poorly fitted for furnishing the foundation for Vedic ritual can be seen from the fact that very little belonging to its proper material (*carmina, devotiones*), and not borrowed from the Kāuṣika, is to be found. On the other hand, it contains numerous verses and formulas from the Yajus-saṁhitās, and in the description of the ritual it follows very closely Kātyāyana's Crāuta-sūtra. Vāitāna Sūtra i. 8, *devatā havir daksinā yajurvedāt*, seems to make formal recognition of this fact. On the other hand, the relation of the Vāitāna to the Kāuṣika may be described by stating that the former treats the latter almost as if it were another saṁhitā, taking for granted that its ritual, and the mantras which it quotes from other sources than the vulgata, are understood and known by its readers.

The points of contact between the two texts in general are very numerous. In the matter of external form it may be worth noting that the Vāitāna-sūtra proper, which contains eight adhyāyas, is frequently found extended to fourteen adhyāyas by the addition of prāyaścitta-sūtras. This may have been done in deference to the fourteen books of the Kāuṣika. Both texts frequently begin a chapter with a long mantra-passage, which belongs to the action of the preceding chapter; they frequently introduce śloka-passages by such phrases as *tad api ślokāu vadatah, tatra ślokaḥ*, etc.; both occasionally refer to the *brāhmaṇa* with the expression *brāhmaṇoktam* or *iti brāhmaṇam*. I have not noted in the Vāitāna the practice common in the Kāuṣika (it occurs about a dozen times) of disregarding hiatus produced by sandhi (e. g. *patnyāñjalāu=patnyās añjalāu*); but each text has once a nominative plural employed as accusative in very similar phrases: Vāit. 11. 24, *angusthaprabhṛtāyas tistro ucchrayet*; Kāuṣ. 8. 19, *trayodaśyādāyas tistro dadhīmadhuni vāsaiyivā badhnāti*. Both texts employ very commonly the expression *manbrokta*, 'the person or the thing mentioned in the mantra.' They share also many technical terms which are restricted wholly to the Atharva-ritual, or occur preponderatingly in it. So the *purastāddhoma* and *saṁsthītahoma*; the terms *sarūpavatsā* and *sarūpavatsa*, *sampāta* and *sampātavant*, *ākṛtiloṣṭa*, *chantyudaka*, *rasapraçaṇi*, *puṛodācasamivarta*, *yāmasārasvata*. Further, the teachers mentioned in the Vāitāna occur in the Kāuṣika, and the designations of *gaṇas*, 'groups of hymns,' single hymns of prominent character and wide application, and groups of verses, are essentially the same: e. g. the hymns called *cātanāni*, *apām sūktāni*, *ṣambhumayobhā*, *ācāpaliya*, and the verses called *gandhapravada*, *jivā*, and *utthāpani*. Finally, there are about fifty passages in the Vāitāna, in which the ritual described exhibits a more or less close resemblance to performances of the Kāuṣika; of these a concordance has been made.

It would certainly be going too far to suppose that the Vāitāna has drawn upon the Kāuṣika for all these correspondences; it is very probable that many of the specialties shared by both texts were simply current in the Atharvan schools in such a way that they would be at the bidding of the compiler of a religious manual at any time. But in looking over these parallels it is found that the Vāitāna frequently exhibits a certain fact or series of facts in a fragmentary way, merely presenting certain features of a group of facts, which the Kāuṣika has apparently in full. E. g., the Vāitāna mentions Atharva-teachers here and there: *Kāuṣika*, *Yuvan Kāuṣika*, *Bhāgali*, *Māthara*, *Ḍānaka*. The Kāuṣika pre-sents all these, but in addition also *Gārgya*, *Pārthaçravasa*, *Kāṅkayana*, *Paribabhrava*, *Jātikāyana*, *Kāurupathi*, *Isuphali*, and *Devadarça*. The same superiority of the Kāuṣika is exhibited in its knowledge of a much larger variety of hymn-gaṇas, names of single hymns, and verse-lists. The paribhāṣa-sūtras for the bulk of the Kāuṣika are contained in chapters 7 and 8. These are not unknown to the Vāitāna, but yet only two distinct references to them occur: Vāit. 10. 2, *arātīyori ti yupaṇi vṛçyamānam anumantṛayate*; Kāuṣ. 8. 12, *arātīyori iti takṣati*; Vāit. 10. 3, *yat tvā çikva iti prakṣālyamānam*; Kāuṣ. 8. 13, *yat tvā çikva iti prakṣālyati*. The terms *ākṛtiloṣṭa*, *chantyudaka*, *sampāta*, *sarūpavatsa*, which are so characteristic of the Kāuṣika, occur but once or twice each in the Vāitāna.

Still more noteworthy is the fact that in a number of passages the Vaitāna refers to ritual described in detail in the Kāuṣika, indicating merely the first and last traits of the performance. E. g., Vait. 1. 19 *jivābhīr ācamyetyādi prapadanāntam*, 'He performs the rite at the beginning of which he rinses his mouth, while uttering the jivā-verses (AV. xix. 69. 1-4), and which ends with the *prapad*-formula.' Kāuṣika 3. 4 describes it in full: *jivābhīr ācamyo 'pothāya vedaprapadbhīh prapadyata om prapadye bhūh prapadye bhuvah prapadye svah prapadye janat prapadya iti*. And in the same manner Vait. 11. 14=Kāuṣ. 24. 26-31; Vait. 24. 3=Kāuṣ. 7. 14; Vait. 24. 7=Kāuṣ. 6. 11-13. Still more valuable is the evidence of the passage describing the *ṣāntiyudaka*, Vait. 5. 10: *usasi ṣāntiyudakam karoti cityādibhīr ātharvaṇābhīh kapurvīparvūodakāvṛkkāvatīnādānīrdahanābhīr āngirasiḥ ca*. This is the only passage in the Vaitāna which Garbe finds himself unable to translate. It becomes clear enough in the light of the paribhāṣa-sūtra, Kāuṣ. 8. 16: *citi- prāyaścitti- camī- camakā- savaṇṇā- ṣamyavākā- talāṣā- palāṣa- vācā- piṇṇapā- ṣimbala- sūpuna- darbha- 'pamargā- 'krtilosta- valmīkavapā- dūrvāpranta- vr̥thi- yavāh ṣāntāh*. This is a list of articles, largely plants, which are considered as holy, and are therefore employed in the preparation of the *ṣāntiyudaka*. The passage from the Vaitāna is to be translated: 'In the morning he prepares the holy water with *ātharvaṇa*-substances *citi* etc., and with *āngirasa*-substances *kapus* etc.' We may perhaps expect to find an explanation of these *āngirasa*-substances in the *āngirasa-kalpa*, if this ever turns up. In this case it becomes especially clear that the Vaitāna, in abbreviating the first list which occurs in the Kāuṣika, and in giving in full the second list which does not occur in the Kāuṣika, confesses itself as directly dependent upon and later than the Kāuṣika.

We have finally a technical proof. Both texts follow the usual practice of citing the hymns belonging to the canon of their own school by their *pratikās*. The Kāuṣika moreover follows the custom current in sūtra-texts of giving in full any hymns or formulae which come from another cākhā of the same Veda (e. g. the Kaṣmīra-cākhā in chapters 72, 91, 107, 115), as well as those from another Veda. The Vaitāna in general, though not always, follows the same practice; one exception is especially noticeable: any hymn or formula which occurs in the Kāuṣika is cited by its *pratika* only; it matters not whether the hymn in question occurs also in some other saṁhitā, or is—as seems often the case—the special property of the Kāuṣika, not to be traced in any of the published saṁhitās. So TS. iii. 2. 4. 4 has the formula *ahe dāidhiṣavyo 'd atas tisthā 'nyasya sadane sīda yo 'smat pakatarah*. This is cited in full in Kāty. Cr. ii. 1. 22 and Kāuṣ. 3. 5; Vait. 1. 20 cites only the *pratika ahe dāidhiṣavya*. The Kāuṣika, at 6. 11, has a mantra which Dārila designates as *kalpajā*, and which I have not been able to trace to any saṁhitā: *vi muñcāmi brahmaṇā jātuvedasam agnīm hotāram ajaram rathasmṛtam* etc.; Vait. 24. 7 cites only the *pratika vi muñcāmi*.

11. On the use of the Word 'asah in the Bible, by Mr. Cyrus Adler, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

The word עָשָׂה, one of the commonest in the Bible, has been defined by Gesenius, and the lexicographers generally, as follows: 1. to work, to labor; 2. to make, to do, to produce by labor.

The second meaning is specialized as follows: **a.** to make, i. e. build or manufacture; **b.** to create, as used of God; **c.** to produce or yield, as does the earth; **d.** to get by labor, to acquire; **e.** (at this point the development of meaning is not so clear) to make ready, to prepare; **f.** to dress or prepare, and so, to sacrifice; **g.** to keep any stated day, to hold or celebrate.

To this list we would add the meanings 'to worship' and 'to devote.' The Bible translators have been averse to using even those meanings which had already been made out, and by using *do* or *make* have often obscured the sense. Thus in Gen. xiii. 4, the authorized version reads, 'Unto the place of the altar which he made there at first.' Here אֵשֶׁת שָׂם means 'where,' and עָשָׂה, 'sacrificed,' and the passage, if מָקוֹם really means 'place,' should read, 'Unto the place of the altar where he had sacrificed at first.'

In the same book we find the phrase וַיַּעַשׂ מִשְׁתֶּה occurring frequently: thus, xix. 3, xl. 20, xxi. 8, xxvi. 30. In fact מִשְׁתֶּה, 'feast,' is combined regularly only

with the verb עשה, save in one or two narrative passages, where היה is used. It will easily be seen how the association of משה with עשה would tend to develop that meaning of 'celebration,' and more especially of 'joyous celebration,' which we find attached to it.

The word is essentially a *vox media*, and so sometimes the association is in the other direction. Thus the passage at Gen. i. 10, usually rendered, 'He made, ויעש, a mourning for his father seven days,' means of course simply that he observed rites of mourning. Exodus i. 21 shows a very peculiar usage of the word. In x. 25 and xii. 28, it plainly means 'to sacrifice.'

In Exodus xii. 47, כל-עדת ישראל יעשו אותו refers to the paschal lamb, and yet the English version has, 'All the congregation of Israel shall keep it.'

The next verse, וכי-יגור אדם גר ועשה פסח ליהוה המול לו כל-זכר ואז יקרב לעשות, is translated, 'And when a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the Lord, let all the males be circumcised, and let them come near to keep it.' 'Sacrifice' should be substituted for 'keep' in both places, and 'paschal lamb' for 'passover.'

Exodus xx. 23, לא תעשון אתי אלהי כסף ואלהי זהב לא תעשו לכם, is a passage which has been constantly misunderstood. The English version reads, 'Ye shall not make with me gods of silver neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold,' and the Septuagint and Vulgate agree. Luther solved the difficulty by rendering, 'Darum sollt ihr nichts neben mir machen, silberne und goldene götter sollt ihr nicht machen.' It should probably be, 'Ye shall not worship alongside of me gods of silver,' etc.

Exodus xxxi. 16 furnishes an undoubted instance of the use of עשה in the meaning 'to celebrate.' ושמרו בני-ישראל את השבת לעשות את השבת לררתם ברית עולם. In the English version: 'Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath to observe the Sabbath throughout their generations for a perpetual covenant.' It really means, 'And the children of Israel shall watch, *i. e.* take care, or observe the Sabbath to celebrate the Sabbath, a perpetual covenant for their generations.'

Exodus xxxii. 35,

וינף יהוה את העם על אשר עשו את העגל אשר עשה אהרן

means, 'And the Lord plagued the people because they worshipped the calf which Aaron made,' though commentators have alike misunderstood it.

In Leviticus xvi. 34 there is an error in Luther's translation. The passage ויעש כאשר צוה יהוה את משה (of the priest), he renders: 'Und Moses that wie ihm der Herr geboten hatte.' The Septuagint and Vulgate are both correct, and the error is certainly curious.

Judges xviii. 31,

וישימו להם את-פסל מיכה אשר עשה כל ימי היות בית האלהים בשלה

is translated, 'And they set them up Micah's graven image which he made all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh.' This however conveys very little meaning; 'worshipped' would be a much better translation than 'made.'

II. Samuel viii. 13 is a passage which has not been clearly made out.

ויעש דוד יסם כשבו מהכותו את ארם בגיא מלח שמונה עשר אלף

'And David made a name (grew famous) on his return from smiting Syria in the valley of Melah, eighteen thousand (men).' This sentence is to say the least not very clear. The two preceding give an account of the booty sanctified by David to the Lord. Now in the thirteenth verse (which as it stands makes no sense), if we change the vocalization יסם to יסם, the rendering will be, 'And David got there on his return from smiting Syria in the valley of Melah, eighteen thousand men.' After this, the fourteenth verse comes in naturally enough, 'And he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom put he garrisons,' etc.

In II. Kings xxiii. 4 occurs the phrase העשויים לבעל. This is rendered, 'which were made for Baal'; but it is much more likely, not that the vessels were made expressly for Baal, but that they were used in his worship, were devoted to it. Similar passages are II. Chronicles xxiv. 7 and Hosea ii. 10.

To summarize, the word עשה is used in the sense 'to celebrate' in about

twenty-five passages: Gen. i. 10 (?); Ex. xxxi. 16, xxxiv. 22; Deut. v. 15, xvi. 1, 10; I. Kings xii. 32. II. Kings xxiii. 21, 22; Ezra iii. 4, vi. 19, 22; Neh. viii. 15, 18; Esther ix. 22; II. Chron. vii. 8, 9; xxx. 1, 2, 3, 13; xxxv. 18, 19. It thus appears that such a shade of meaning became attached to *עָשָׂה* that the word could be appropriately used with 'feast' or 'banquet,' with 'sabbath' or 'festival' ('celebrate'), and with *בָּעָל* ('dedicate' or 'worship').

12. On the Typographical Requirements for printing Sanskrit in Transliteration, by Prof. C. R. Lanman, of Cambridge, Mass.

At the October meeting of the Society in 1880, Professor Whitney presented a paper on the Transliteration of Sanskrit. In this paper he explained and gave reasons for the system of transliteration which he himself had adopted. This system is substantially the one that he has used in almost all of his publications which called for it, and is precisely the one which is employed in his Sanskrit Grammar (1879). The fact that this system has been followed in a work of such a character, and of so wide circulation among Sanskrit scholars—both learners and investigators—in Europe and America, is to my mind a good and sufficient reason for its adoption by all Sanskrit scholars in America. It is open to as few theoretical objections as any system yet proposed, and perhaps to fewer; while practically it involves the greatest economy of diacritical marks, and so makes the cleanest and clearest printed page of Sanskrit which is attainable. Its more important features are: the use of a macron to mark a long vowel, of the acute sign to mark the acute accent, and of the so-called grave accent to mark the circumflex; the use of a subscript dot with the lingual vowel and sibilant (*ṛ*, *ṣ*), and with *ḷ*; and the use of *c*, *j*, *y*, and *ç* for the palatals. Its economy and simplicity is apparent from the fact that for the 33 consonants (25 mutes, 4 semivowels, and 4 spirants) only five characters not found in ordinary English fonts of type are necessary.

The time is now come or is soon coming when it will be found desirable or necessary to print Sanskrit in transliteration in a good many different places in this country. The offices of the Journal of our Society, of the American Journal of Philology, and of a single Boston firm are the only ones that I know of which are equipped for this work. For the Philological Association, for the publishers of various philological text-books, and even for the humbler necessities of printed Sanskrit examination papers, Sanskrit "sorts" are desirable. In each case when the scholar brings his copy to the office, the practical printer will ask what "sorts" or "accents" are required to put the manuscript into type. It is a matter of considerable trouble and care to make the correct answer. On the one hand, the printer is unwilling to go to needless expense in providing sorts for which there will be no use; and, on the other, the author should not be put to an unfair expense for corrections caused by the lack of the needful sorts. I have accordingly made the following table on the assumption that Whitney's system will be used, and although its purpose is wholly practical rather than scientific, I believe it will prove of sufficient convenience and value to be worthy of preservation in the Proceedings of this Society.

It is safe to presuppose the existence of a *c* with the cedilla and of an *n* with the *tilde* in most American fonts of English type in good offices for book-work. It remains to show what needed characters are not provided for in such fonts. A glance at the alphabet

Gutturals,		k	kh	g	gh	ñ	h	a	ā
Palatals,	ç	c	ch	j	jh	ñ	y	i	ī
Linguals,	s	ṣ	ṭh	d	dh	ṇ	r	ṛ	ṝ
Dentals,	s	t	th	ḍ	dh	n	l	ḷ	
Labials,		p	ph	b	bh	m	v	u	ū
								o	au

shows that *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, and *ñ* are the only types for consonants that need to be made anew. The ordinary book-fonts make provision for all of the diphthongs and vowels except *ṛ*, *ṝ*, and *ḷ*. Long *ḷ* never occurs. Short *ḷ* and long *ṝ* are so infrequent that they may be left to the compositor to make by setting the proper marks above or below a shaved letter. But in case an extensive work is to be printed, it is better to provide these letters. On the score of the vowels, there-

fore, we must add \mathfrak{r} ; and for *visarga* and the *anusvara*-signs, we must add \mathfrak{h} , and \mathfrak{n} and \mathfrak{m} . It is sometimes desirable to print the Sanskrit words in a heavy or full-faced type, and for this purpose a "job-font" rather than a "book-font" may be employed. In such cases, the author should assure himself that it contains \mathfrak{a} , \mathfrak{i} , and \mathfrak{u} , or else have them provided, as they are of very frequent occurrence. For printing unaccented or classical Sanskrit, accordingly, the following eleven or nine sorts are needed:

1. \mathfrak{d} , \mathfrak{h} , \mathfrak{n} , \mathfrak{r} , \mathfrak{s} , \mathfrak{t} ; \mathfrak{n} , \mathfrak{n} , \mathfrak{m} [\mathfrak{r} , \mathfrak{l}].

If, in the second place, it is desired to print accented (i. e. Vedic) words or texts we shall need one more consonant, \mathfrak{l} , and quite an extension of our vowel resources. There are five vowels. Each may be with or without a macron. And each may be without an accent, or with an acute accent, or with a circumflex ("grave") accent. Thus:

a	á	à	ā	ā'	ā̀
i	í	ì	ī	ī'	ī̀
u	ú	ù	ū	ū'	ū̀
ṛ	ṛ'	ṛ̀	ṛ	ṛ'	ṛ̀
ḷ					
e	é	è	ai	ái	āi
o	ó	ò	au	áu	āu

For a theoretically complete printer's case of the Sanskrit vowels, therefore, we should need ($5 \times 2 \times 3 =$) thirty boxes. We should add six more for the two *guṇa*-diphthongs, *e* and *o*. The six varieties of the two *vr̥ddhi*-diphthongs, *ai* and *au*, can all be made by setting together simple vowels, so we leave them out of the question. Practically, however, the number of thirty-six is reduced to thirty-one by the fact that no long or accented \mathfrak{l} -vowel (i. e. only simple \mathfrak{l}) is ever needed; and farther to thirty, because a long circumflexed \mathfrak{r} never occurs.

Leaving out of account the \mathfrak{r} - and \mathfrak{l} -vowels, lines 4 and 5, all the letters in the first four columns may be expected to be found in a good book-font. In the fifth column, three new sorts will be needed for \mathfrak{a}' , \mathfrak{i}' , and \mathfrak{u}' , acute long, and in the sixth, one for \mathfrak{a} , circumflex long. Circumflex long \mathfrak{i} and \mathfrak{u} sometimes occur, but can be made with a "grave accent" on a separate piece of metal, set beside the vowel.

Of the \mathfrak{r} - and \mathfrak{l} -vowels, lines 4 and 5, three are already provided for above, under § 1, namely \mathfrak{r} [\mathfrak{r} , and \mathfrak{l}]. Acute short \mathfrak{r}' is so common that it ought to be provided; but \mathfrak{r} and \mathfrak{r}' are so rare as to be quite dispensable, and, in case they should be needed, can be made by setting a "grave accent" or else a "minute-mark" on a separate piece of metal beside the vowel. For printing accented Sanskrit texts, accordingly, there are needed:

2. \mathfrak{a}' , \mathfrak{i}' , \mathfrak{u}' ; \mathfrak{a} ; \mathfrak{r}' ; \mathfrak{l} .

That is, there are needed in all 17 new letters, or, not counting \mathfrak{r} and \mathfrak{l} , 15. It may be well to add that it is unnecessary for the type-founder to cut new dies, even for these; the matrices from which they are to be cast can be made with great ease by electrotypy, since all the diacritical marks are simple dots and straight lines, which can be put in juxtaposition to the body of the letter before electrotyping the matrix. Such matrices cost only \$1.50 or \$2 a piece, so that a complete equipment of Sanskrit sorts made on Roman letters may be had for twenty-five or thirty dollars. If the sorts are made both in Roman and Italic, the cost will be rather more than doubled; but this is not necessary, except for printing extensive works of mixed Sanskrit and English; for the effect of Italics can be produced by hair-spacing the Roman. Unless both Roman and Italics are used, it is better to make Roman the basis of the sorts.

Finally, the author should assure himself that the font he proposes to use really contains, in addition to the \mathfrak{a} , \mathfrak{i} , \mathfrak{u} , mentioned above, the acute \mathfrak{a}' , \mathfrak{i}' , \mathfrak{u}' , \mathfrak{e} , and \mathfrak{o} , and the circumflex \mathfrak{a} , \mathfrak{i} , \mathfrak{u} , \mathfrak{e} , and \mathfrak{o} . These ought to be contained in a book-font, but may be lacking in an otherwise more desirable job-font.

13. On the Meaning of Baalim and Ashtaroth in the Old Testament, by Mr. A. L. Frothingham, Jr.

The theory most in vogue concerning the meaning of Baalim and Ashtaroth, the plural forms in the Old Testament of the divinities Baal and Ashtoreth, is that these forms do not signify the divinities themselves, but their representations or images. Since its principal advocate, Gesenius, it has been adopted by the majority of critics. An examination of the passages in the books of the Old Testament where these words occur seems to show conclusively that the Gesenius image-theory is not only unnecessary but untenable, and that Baalim and Ashtaroth must signify either the various aspects of Baal and Astarte or false divinities in general. The questionable passage, Hosea xi. 2, must be compared to Hosea ii. 13 and 17. So also in II. Chron. xxiv. 7, the words '*asû le-Baalim*' must not be translated 'made into Baalim' but 'consecrated to Baalim' (cf. II. Kings xxiii. 4 etc.). Judges viii. 33 shows that Baalim was a general term, one of whose specifications was Baal-Berith; while the tenth chapter evidently points to a use of Baalim and Ashtaroth as general terms for the false male and female divinities of the surrounding nations.

There are fewer indications for Ashtaroth, and here we must seek help from the inscriptions. That among the Canaanites and Phœnicians Astarte was a common name is shown by the inscriptions of king Mesha, of Eshmunazar, and others; we find an Ashtarte of the Baal of Sidon, an Ashtar of Chemosh, an 'Attar of 'Ate, etc. In Assyrian, Ishtar was originally the common name for 'Goddess,' as *Ilu* was that for 'God'; later the plural form only was used in that sense. When Ishtar became a concrete goddess, her various attributes were worshiped separately and in different centres; thus arose Ishtar of Arbela, Ishtar of Asshur and of Nineveh, Ishtar of Erech, Ishtar of Agadê, etc. In regard to Baal as the supreme and single divinity among Hamitic nations, it is not necessary to adduce the proofs for such a fact, as they are obvious; a glance at the various individualizations of Baal in the Old Testament and in the Phœnician, Palmyrene, and other inscriptions is of itself convincing.

14. On the Etymology of the Sanskrit noun *vratâ*, by Prof. Whitney.

As to the derivation of the common Sanskrit noun *vratâ* (meaning in the classical language oftenest 'a sacred act' or 'vow'), and as to the way in which it arrives at its variety of senses, there exists considerable difference of opinion among scholars. The Petersburg lexicon makes it come from $\sqrt{2}$ *vr*, 'choose,' and draws out its scheme of values as follows: "1. will, command, law, prescribed order; 2. subservience, obedience, service; 3. domain; 4. order, regulated succession, realm; 5. calling, office, customary activity, action, carrying on, custom, etc.; 6. religious duty, worship, obligation; 7. any undertaken religious or ascetic performance or observance, rule, vow, sacred work; 8. vow in general, fixed purpose;" and then certain specialized uses. Grassmann's treatment of the word (in his Rig-Veda dictionary) is essentially the same. Benfey, making the derivation from the same root, starts with the meaning "a (self-chosen) voluntary act, rule," and goes on to "action, doing," to "work," to "a devout act . . . a vowed observance, a vow," and then to the more specialized senses; here, it will be seen, the assumed fundamental signification is completely different from that of the other authorities already quoted. But F. M. Müller, in his so-called translation of the Rig-Veda (pp. 225-8), even takes *vratâ* from another root, 1 *vr* 'protect,' and holds it to "have meant originally what is enclosed, protected, set apart," then "what is fenced off, what is determined, what is settled . . . law, ordinance," and then to have "come to mean sway or power, and the expression *vrate tava* signifies, at thy command, under thy auspices."

Since, now, two of these explanations must be wrong, it is not impossible that all the three may be so; certainly, it stands open to any one to criticise them all, and to suggest a new explanation.

We are justified, I think, in the first place, in simply setting aside Müller's etymology as unsatisfactory; it lacks any fair degree of plausibility, and is also incompletely carried out: how its author would connect the usual later meaning of the word with those laid down by him, does not appear.

Against the etymology of the two authorities first quoted is to be urged that (see their own dictionaries) the root 2 *vr* does not signify willing, command, pre-

scription, but only choice or preference; the idea of laying down the law, which runs through all their leading definitions, is by no means to be found in it. There is, to be sure, a certain relationship between 'choose' and 'command,' but it is not so close as to allow of simply substituting the latter for the former. Hence, even if we admit the derivation from 2 *vr*, the Petersburg lexicon's scheme of definitions, as it now stands, must be pronounced unacceptable, and requiring to be recast. Nor does the transition from law and ordinance to action, through the sense of prescribed activity and accustomed action, seem an easy or natural one.

The objection of non-correspondence with the proper meaning of the root is avoided by Benfey, who virtually starts from the sense of 'chosen activity, selected course of action,' and then simply drops the idea of choice or selection in the following senses. No such meaning as the former is recognized by any of the other authorities who have discussed the word; and if one examines the references given by Benfey under it, he will find that no implication of choice is at all called for by them; in fact, this author's leading definition is an otiose addition to his system of meanings, and made only for the purpose of forcing a connection between the real senses of the word and its assumed etymology.

My own idea of the word corresponds nearly with Benfey's, save that I would get rid of the forced implication of choice or selection, by accepting a different etymology.

If we derive *vratá* from either root having the form *vr*, we have to recognize in it the suffix *ta*, which, except as making the passive participle, is of great rarity; in fact, the only analogue to *vratá* would be *márta* 'mortal,' from \sqrt{mr} 'die,' and this would show a difference both of accent and of root-form. Notably easier as regards the external shape of the word would be a derivation from \sqrt{vrt} 'proceed,' with suffix *a*; the form *vratá* instead of *varta* is exceptional, but need cause no great difficulty, especially as it finds support in *vrajá*, *vradá*. The word *vratá*, then, from *vrt* would mean something like a procedure, course, line of movement, course of action, then conduct or behavior. This would correspond to meaning 5 in the Petersburg lexicon scheme, and 2 and 3 in Benfey's scheme. Then the developments of meaning would be on the one hand to a habitual, established, usual, or approved course of action or line of conduct—a familiar transfer, as instanced by *guṇa* 'virtue,' *rūpa* 'beauty,' and the like; and, on the other hand, to a special act or series of acts or ceremonies of an obligatory character, imposed by morality or religion; and any other senses would be easily explained specializations of these. The whole sphere of significance of the word seems to me more naturally covered in this way than in any other. Even the phrase *vratá tava* (of which Grassmann makes a final separate head, as if in doubt as to how it shall be connected with the rest) seems not less readily explained as meaning 'in thy (established or approved) course, following thy lead or example,' than 'under thy control or protection,' or 'in thy service,' as suggested by the other authorities.

The leading sense of 'course of action or behavior' appears to me best to suit the great majority of the compounds with *vrata*, even in the Veda: e.g. *vivratá*, 'of discordant action,' *āpavratá* 'of offish or rebellious conduct,' *ānuvratá* 'of submissive behavior,' *śucivratá* 'doing beauteous work,' *suvaratá* 'of excellent conduct,' and so on. The commonest Rig-Veda compound, *dhr̥tívratá*, admits of more than one interpretation, as from the leading or the developed sense.

There are passages here and there which appear to indicate a recognition of the etymological connection of *vratá* with root *vrt*: such are *vām ānu vratāni vārtate* (RV. i. 183.3), *ādityasya vratam anuparyāvartante* (AB. iii. 11). It would not, however, be proper to insist too much upon their importance, since they might possibly be accidental collocations, or artificial plays upon words. But the general character of the verbs used along with such a noun has a legitimate and important value as pointing to its fundamental sense. And the verbs which take *vratá* as object decidedly favor its interpretation as a word of motion. We do not find them to mean 'obey, submit to, accept,' and the like, but rather 'follow after, pursue, attach one's self to,' and so on (*i*, *anv-i*, *anu-car*, *anu-gā*, *anu-vrt*, *sac*, etc.). Examples are: *yasya vratām paśavo yānti sārve* (AV. vii. 40.1), *ānu vratām carasi* (RV. iii. 61.1), *vigve . . . vratā padē'va saçīre* (v. 67.3), *táva . . . vratām agne sacanta* (vii. 5.4), *tām . . . ṛjūyāntam ānu vratām* (i. 136.5)—and many others might be quoted. The only notable exception is the root *mī* or *m̐* (alone, or,

more frequently, with prefixes *a* or *pra*); and here the original meaning of the root is doubtful (its connection with Latin *minus* etc., usually accepted, is highly questionable), and the difficulty of explanation seems about as great with one understanding of *vrātā* as with another.

If this account of *vrātā* shall approve itself to acceptance, the hitherto assumed shade of meaning in sundry Vedic passages will be slightly modified, but their interpretation will not be essentially changed; since the matter involved is not so much the senses themselves of the word as their derivation and relation to one another.

In preparing this paper, the fact was overlooked that M. Bergaigne also, in his *Religion Védique* (iii. 212 ff.), has treated of the history and use of the same word. He gives yet a fourth derivation, different from that of any of the three other authorities—making it come, indeed, like Müller, from the root 1 *vr*, but with the primary sense of ‘guard, protection.’ This appears not less unacceptable than the rest; and here, again, it may be said that M. Bergaigne’s learned and acute discussion of the uses of the word does not at all necessarily repose upon its etymology as held by him, but only upon the prevalent senses of it, as to which all are agreed.

After passing a vote of thanks to the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University for the use of their assembly-room, the Society adjourned to meet in Boston, May 6th, 1885.